Hebrew Union College Annual

1904

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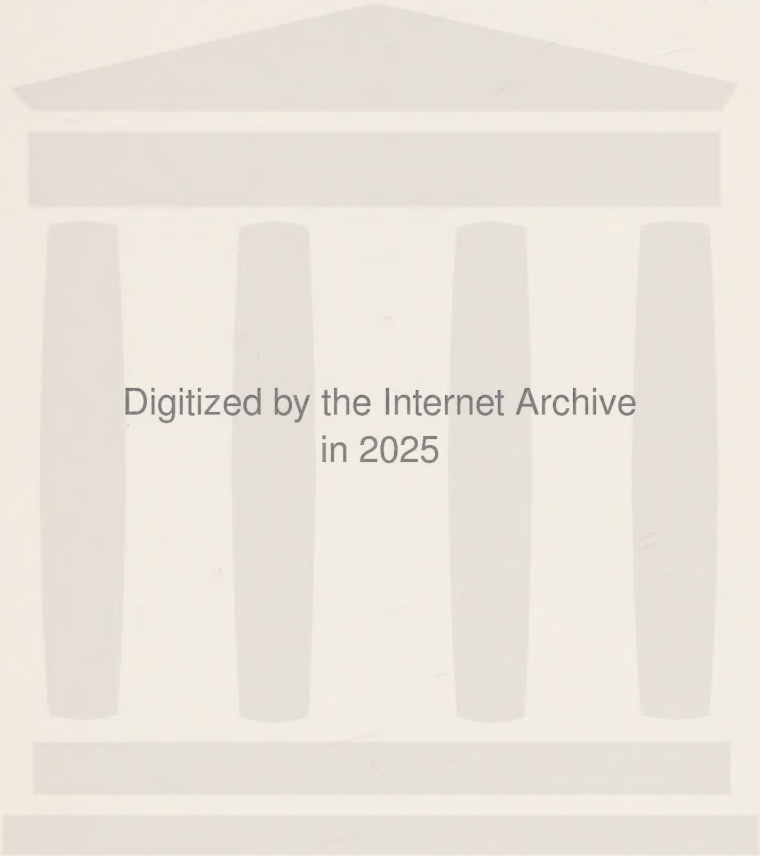
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Hebrew Union College Annual

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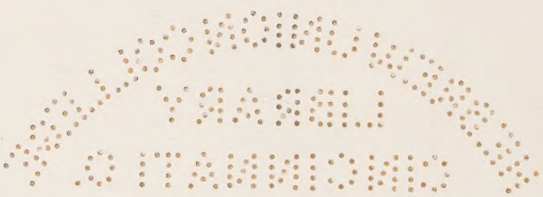

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Preface.

IF the HEBREW UNION COLLEGE ANNUAL will to some extent, at least, fill the want for a scientific and literary publication whose function it is to present Jewish thought and Jewish research to the public, then the hopes of its editors will be realized. The justification of its existence will at the same time be an extenuation of the defects inherent in a new publication.

We desire to extend our thanks to those whose contributions appear in the ANNUAL. To them is due whatever value the ANNUAL may have. We express our deep appreciation for their prompt response and for their warm personal interest.

We would also record our thanks to those whose financial aid has made the publication of the ANNUAL possible—to the Board of Governors and to the Alumni of our Alma Mater and to our subscribers.

We trust that the ANNUAL will meet with such encouragement that its future as a permanent institution will be ensured.

EPHRAIM FRISCH,
Editor.

Hebrew Union College, July, 1904.

Prologue.

Spake sage Koheleth: "Be admonished, son,
Of making books an end, alas, is none!
'Tis but the striving after wind, wot you,
And weariness and vanity in one!"

So spake he—but pray, gentle reader, note
Again the adage of "My beam, your mote."
Sage the monition, we might feel, perhaps—
Had not—but then Ecclesiastes WROTE!

HARRY ETTELSON.

General Department

FRÄNKEL.

A Bild von Yiddischen Sweat-Shop Leben in New York.

BY MORRIS ROSENFELD.

WIE gut un wie klug is es Fränkel der Presser!
Er macht a Sach Geld un verbräucht nit.
Er is nit kein Trinker, er is nit kein Fresser,
Er schmeckt nit un liebt nit un räucht nit.
A Yid a Baal Tachlis, wie werd man kein G'vir nit?
Denn alz wos er weiss nor is "schporen."
Die Taavoh, die Gaavoh, sie git ihm kein Rühr nit;
Un er is a Mensch schon in Johren.

A Bochur is Fränkel, an älterer Bochur,
Es passt ihm zu sein schon a Tate,—
A Sochor a stalner, a leitischer Sochor,
Doch thut er kein Shidduch l'es atto.
Zu nehmen a Weib, dos is nit asoi schwerlich,
Doch schreckt sich dos Harz varn später:
Die Häusgesind wet sich vergresseren jährlich
Un hüten soll Gott varn Väter.[1]

2. Sach—a lot.
5. Baal Taachlis—of forsight.
5. G'vir—rich man.
7. Taavoh—Pleasures.
7. Gaavoh—Pride.
9. Bochur—a "bach."
11. Sochor a Stalner—a big strappin' fellow.
12. L'es atto—for the present.

[1] "Väter" among the East Side Jews means "pawn-broker."—M. R.

Varn finstern Sched mit dem blutigen "Segol"[2]
Varn Wucherer, var dem Zudrücker,
Wos halt wie a Tiger gegreit seine Negel
Zu reissen un pflücken in Stücker.
Ot dos seht alz früher aräus unser Fränkel,
Un tracht sich: Kein Bös, es is Zeit noch,
Mit Geld kenn man machen a Krämil, a Schenkil,
A Ständile, un wären a Leit noch.

Mit Geld kenn man machen Mischorim a Fulle,
Un Altkeit is äuch kein Chissoron,
Mit Geld ken man kriegen a Zazke, a B'suloh
Soigar zu die ältere Johren. . . . . .
Nischt Koschoh, es wet sich gefienen a Meidel,
Kein Daagoh, abi nor M'sumon!
Is noch a Mattonoh, a Ringel, a Kleidel,
A Jackel, die Liebe wet kummen. . . . . .

Ot hot Ihr a Rayoh vun Max dem Apreter,
Käum hot er gehat die Matbeo—
A Challosch gewen, dacht sich gor a Zudrehter,
Doch itzt is sein Weib Chavoh Leoh.
A feine Blondinke, a Miene, a Leben,
A Stell, a Figure—groisartig!
Man hot sich bedungen un er hot gegeben,
Un sie hot gesogt: "Ich bin fartig."

17. Sched—demon.
25. Mischorim—business.
25. Fulle—a lot, much.
26. Chissoron—defect.
27. Zazke—a doll.
27. B'suloh—a maiden.
29. Nischt Koschoh—never mind, don't worry.
30. Daagoh—anxiety.
30. M'sumon—money.
31. Mattonoh—present.
33. Rayoh—a proof.
34. Matbeo—coin.
35. Challosch—a weakling, an invalid.
36. Chavoh Leoh—proper name.

[2] "Segol"—the three yellow, round balls which hang before every pawn-shop as signs.—M. R.

ASOI hot sich Fränkel getracht un geredt,
Un weiter gearbeit vun Morgens bis spät,
A Begel beginnen, a Bulke bei Nacht—
Er hot sich dem Bankbüchel fuller gemacht.
Un er is schon reicher un er is schon schwach,
Un Wunder! un wirklich a seltene Sach:
A Jugend, a Meidel, a Nachas, a Schein,
"Oh, Fränkele Harze, oh, Fränkele Kroin!"
Sie redt mit N'schomoh, die junge Parschoin.
Sie liebt mit an Emes un schmeichelt ihm zu,
Ihr Zäuber verführt ihm, er weiss nit avu,
Un Ringen, un Jacken, un Kleider, un Geld,
Er öpfent die Hand für als Ding wos Ihr fehlt,
Un Fränkel frägt: "Nu?"
Un Blume "sogt zu". . . . . .
Un schwer is der Eisen un lang is der Tog
Un greit is der Klog.

IN a Zimmer eng un räuchig,
In an alter, brudner Häus,
Wu es zaplen sich in Dochek
Zwischen teifelschen Gebräus,
Vun die eiserne Maschinen—
Menschen mit a trüben Sinnen,
Sklaven vun a dumpfen Nest,
Steht noch Fränkel un er presst.

Dos is noch der selber Eisen,
Ober nit der selber Press,

43. Begel—pretzel.
43. Bulke—a roll.
47. Nachas—a thing of joy.
49. N'shomoh—spirit.
49. Parschoin—beauty.
50. Emes—devotion.
59. Brudner—filthy.
60. Dochek—distress.

Denn es kenn kein Wunder weisen,
Mehr der lebediger Mes,
Welcher häubt die Last die schwere,
Seine Beiner seinen leere,
Käum in der zudrückter Brust
Schpuckt noch um a kranke Lust.

Lust zu Blumen, zu der Liebe,
Liebe zu der süsse Blum,
Doch die Zukunft is a trübe,
Und die Gegenwart is stumm.
Fränkel hot schon bald kein Lung nit,
Un der Schicksal darf kein Zung nit,
Zu ver'massr'n die Scho'oh
Wenn sein Held is mehr nischto.

Karten seinen schon zugeben,
In a karge Woch arum
Darf an obgelebter Leben
Sich verbinden mit a Blum.
Bald wet sein a Joch ge'pater't,
Ach, die schöne Blume flattert,
Ach, der Elend un die Nöt,
Poren äuf Ihr mitn Töt!
Un die Chuppoh un die Tahroh
Beide eilen wilderheit:
Beide foderen die Waare,
Welche steht far sei gegreit. . . . . .
Schöne B'godim seinen fartig

69. Mes—corpse.
80. Ver'massr'n—announce.
80. Scho'oh—hour.
81. Is mehr nischto—is no more.
86. Ge'pater't—relieved.
87. Poren—pair.
90. Chuppah—wedding canopy.
90. Tahroh—ablution for the dead.
93. Gegreit—ready.
94. B'godim—garments.

Un der Saal is gor groisartig,
Als is zierlich, als is schön,
Wet man endlich tanzen gehn?

A Chochom is Fränkel, a Chochom gewen,
Er hot in der Arbeit kein B'rochoh gesehn,
Er hot mit der heiliger Liebe gewart,
Bis ihm hot der finsterer Kever vernart.
Gestorben is Fränkel in Elend un Leid,
Es hoben kein Menschen sein Oron begleit,
Er is in kein Chevroh kein Mitglied gewen,
Er hot in die Chevros kein Freind nit gesehn.
A Tog var der Chuppoh is er wie a Stein
Gefallen bei sich in sein Zimmer allein.
Sein Eigens hot er schon vun früher in Bank
Verschrieben äuf Blumen mit schwachen Gedank.
Sie hot ihm allein zu Bes Olom begleit,
Die Chevroh Kaddischoh, dem Kavron vergelt,
Un Tekef a schöne Mazzevoh bestellt;
Es hot ihr dos Harz, die N'shomoh gerührt,
A heiliger Trähr hot dos Äug thr geziert,
Doch wenn es is alles gewesen varbei,
Dann hot sie geruht un äufgeohtemt frei. . . . .

101. Kever—grave.
103. Oron—bier.
104. Chevroh — benevolent society.
110. Bes Olom—cemetery ("the eternal home").
111. Chevroh Kaddischoh—Burial Society.
111. Kavron—grave-digger.
112. Tekef—soon.
112. Mazzevoh—tombstone.

THE FOUR ELLS OF THE HALAKAH,

And the Requirements of a Modern Jewish Theological School.

BY DR. KAUFMANN KOHLER.

IT was a bold yet perfectly logical attitude taken by the rabbis in Babylonia when they said: "Since the temple on Zion has been destroyed, the Holy One, blessed be He, has no other dwelling-place among men than in the four ells of the Halakah."[1] Upon the Halakah, that is the rule of conduct fixed forever by the rabbis, depended life and eternity.[2] However attractive the Haggadah was to the multitude,[3] and however much fostered by the old Tannaim[4] and considered indispensable to true scholarship,[5] it was regarded as of no practical value for life.[6] The student when entering the schoolhouse prayed to God that he might not stumble nor cause the stumbling of others by a mistake in the Halakah.[7] Upon the discussions of the Halakah was concentrated the work of the Babylonian schools and the semi-annual gatherings called Kallah (the circle).[8]

[1] Berakot 8a.

[2] Megillah Babli 28b; Jerushalmi 1, 70a with reference to Habakkuk iii, 6; Tanna de be Eliahu Zutta ii.

[3] Mekilta to Exodus xv, 26; Midrash Tehillim to Psalm xxviii, 5; Sifre Deuteronomy 49; Shabbat 87a.

[4] Abot d. R. Nathan xiv; Sukkah 28b; Moed Katan 28b; Yer. Shekalim v. 48c; Sifre Deut. 344; Niddah 69b.

[5] Taanit 16a.

[6] Abot d. R. Nathan xiv; Yerushalmi Peah ii, 17a; Yer. Horayot iii, 48.

[7] Berakot 28a.

[8] Midr. Tanh. Noah; Yalkut Mekiri to Psalm cxix, 165.

Familiarity with the Halakah alone—with Talmud and Posekim—determined the qualification and authority of the rabbi, because he had to decide questions of the greatest importance for the life of the Jew, questions concerning eating and drinking, which things are forbidden and which are allowed, what is clean and what is unclean. In the opinion of the Talmudists all the personages of the Bible, the patriarchs, Joshua and Othniel, Doeg and Ahitofel, Abner and Saul, David and his heroes, Jehoshaphat and Hezekiah were men principally occupied with the study of the Halakah.[9] Did not God on Sinai prescribe for all time the form of the Tefillin, the measures of the Mikwah and Sukkah, the shape of the letters of the Torah, and determine what kinds of labor are forbidden on Sabbath and what kinds of physical defects—Terefot—disqualify the animal for the table of the Israelite?[10] Upon this conception of the Torah as a legalistic system rested all Rabbinical education throughout the centuries, and it is quite in order that time-honored Orthodoxy still adheres to this tradition in the management and curriculum of its schools, the Hedarim and Yeshibot. The Halakah, in its estimate, forms the most essential part of Judaism.

The matter has, however, an altogether different aspect in those circles in which life is no longer regulated by the Talmud and the Shulhan Aruk, and in which the very insinuation that the Torah is legalism is resented as Anti-Semitic slander. There is no justification whatsoever for them to have the most precious time of the student spent upon Halakic discussions which at best sharpen his wit but fail to imbue him with the moral and spiritual vigor required for his future task as teacher and leader of men. The hair-splitting dialectics of the Talmud tend rather to produce skepticism in young minds than to win them for Judaism

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[9] Genesis Rabba xxxix; Erubin 63b; Temurah 16a Hagigah 15b; Yebamot 76b; Tanna d. b. Elijahu Rabba ii; Berakot 3b; 4a; 18b; Pesahim 92b; Berakot 10b.

[10] Menahot 35; Shabbat 79b; Erubin 4a; Yoma 80a; Hullin 42a; Sifra Behar i; Yerushalmi Megillah iv, 74d.

as a sublime religious truth. It is inconsistency and short-sightedness, therefore, on the part of modern schoolmen to lay all the emphasis on the study of the Halakah instead of giving due prominence to the Midrashic sources, to the Haggadah, which is of far higher ethical and of eminently more practical value for the future exponent and defender of Judaism,—ethical Halakot like those in Seder Nezikin excepted. Only a broad historical and encyclopedic view of the Talmud enables the student to discern the living ethical and spiritual truth beneath the stagnant form of the Halakah and the inane discussions that fill so many pages of the Babylonian Gemarah. If Judaism is to be to him the Law of Life rather than casuistry and archaeology, his mental horizon must be enlarged and greater attention paid to the essentials and eternal verities of Israel's heritage.

It is only in keeping with this narrow Halakistic view that Higher Criticism and Hellenism are declared to be dangerous or alien to the scope of Rabbinic theology. The entire history and literature of Judaism remains a book with seven seals to him who shuts his eyes to the disclosures of either modern Bible research or of Hellenistic studies. Such brilliant phraseology as is the label "Higher Anti-Semitism" given to Higher Criticism may captivate many—baahizat enayyim—by its seeming truth, but it can not stand the test of scrutiny. Jewish Bible exegetes were the first Bible critics. Moses Gikatillia and Isaac Ibn Jasos of the eleventh and Abraham Ibn Ezra of the twelfth centuries first expressed their doubts regarding the Isaianic authorship of the latter part of Isaiah and the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch;[11] and while systematic critical investigation of the Bible began with Baruch Spinoza,[12] the most daring of all Bible critics was Leopold Zunz who places the book of Leviticus a thousand years after Moses and relegates the entire history of Israel previous

[11] Ibn Ezra's Commentary to Isaiah xl, 1, to Genesis xxxvi, 31, and Deut. i, 1.

[12] Spinoza's Tractatus Theologo-politicus Ch. viii.

to Elisha into the realm of fable.[13] And are not both Graetz—notwithstanding his raillery at other Bible critics—when placing Deuteronomy in King Josiah's time and the other four books of Moses in the time of King Ahaz,[14] and Prof. Schechter, when speaking of Leviticus as the priestly code with its legalistic tendency under the influence of Ezekiel in contrast to Deuteronomy and Jeremiah,[15] adepts of Higher Criticism?

To be sure, the question is a serious one—too serious to be disposed of with a glittering phrase—the question, namely: Are we, in loyal adherence to the Talmudic Halakah which declares him who denies the authenticity and divine origin of a single verse or of the traditional interpretation of the same to be a heretic and accordingly excluded from eternal bliss,[16] bound to refrain altogether from independent Biblical research and condemn it as anti-Jewish, as venerable orthodoxy correctly does; or may we claim free research as the privilege of Judaism, despite the Mishnah, because Judaism is not the belief in Moses or any mediator, but is the belief in the God of Abraham as voiced in the various ages through the various channels of divine revelation? This is the alternative. *Tertium non datur.*

That this is a critical stage through which religion is passing, who can deny? Consternation has seized all the Churches at the havoc Higher Criticism has been making upon the creed. This accounts for the tendency toward ritualism and ecclesiasticism prevailing among liberal Christianity today. The rupture and the hollowness within are to be covered up by outward forms. In our ranks, too, Zionism on the one hand and Romanticism, that is formalism, on the other, are resorted to as the ark of safety in the deluge of apostacy and amidst the religious shipwreck of the thousands around. Our mode of thinking is different from that of former generations. None of the great authors or authorities

[13] Zunz: Gesammelte Schriften Berlin, 1875, 217-270.

[14] Gesch. d. Juden II, 160ff; 299ff; 452ff.

[15] "Studies in Judaism," Philadelphia, 1896, p. 240.

[16] Sanhedrin xi, 1; 99a comp. Berakot 5a.

of the past can solve our problems for us. "They lacked the historic sense which enables us to discriminate between subjective and objective truth, between the narrative and the fact narrated by the Biblical author." Thus wrote Dr. Joel, the conservative rabbi of Breslau, fifteen years ago,[17] or to quote a word of Geiger, his predecessor, once spoken to the writer hereof: "All medieval writers move in a circle like the horse tied to the wheel of a mill, which walks with its eyes bandaged in order not to be able to see that it can not move a step forward." Whether philosophizing or allegorizing, they read their own thoughts into Scripture, lacking the true historical or psychological insight needed for the full comprehension of the passage treated. Modern research opened a new view of the past for us and, unless we prefer to shut our eyes, we cannot escape the conclusions of Higher Criticism. Pious Luzzatto, in admitting that the vocalization of the Bible has suffered occasional alterations at the hands of the Masoretes, opened the door to Geiger's elaborate work on the "Urschrift," proving that the entire Pentateuch has undergone essential emendations at the hands of the Soferim.[18] Yet no sooner is it recognized that at a certain stage the God of Israel was believed to be a visible being than the whole Bible presents to the inquirer a gradual evolution of the God idea, a series of successive transformations from a fiery being located on the heights of Sinai into the holy, invisible and universal God of righteousness and truth.[19] Evolution takes the place of supernatural revelation. But far from detracting from the intrinsic holiness of Scripture, this view gives us a deeper insight into the work of Providence which selects a nation from all nations by endowing it with a genius which makes for right-

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[17] Jahrbuch f. juedische Geschichte u. Literatur 1904, p. 70-73.

[18] Luzzato's Commentary to Isaiah I, 12, and Geiger "Urschrift" 1857, p. 337, where reference is made to the alteration of Yireh et pene J. H. V. H. "to see the face of the Lord" into Yeraeh et pene J. H. V. H. "to be seen before the Lord" (Exodus xxxiv, 20, 23; Deut. xvi, 16), and many other passages.

[19] Exodus xxiv, 10-11; iii, 6 comp. with xxxiii, 20; Deut. iv, 12.

eousness and calling one seer after the other to disclose to mankind its highest and deepest truths amidst a repugnant age which has to be won for it step by step. What geology did for us in laying bare the different strata of the earth telling of the various epochs of creation, Higher Criticism does in disclosing the various stages of growth of the truth of the divine revelation. Of course, there is no room left for that mechanical inspiration theory which makes God dictate to Moses every word and curve and crown of each letter in order to enable coming teachers to deduce therefrom piles of Halakic lore.[20] All the grander becomes the divine truth uttered by generations of prophets, law-givers, singers and sages, each speaking or writing according to his individuality,[21] each age consciously or unconsciously, continuing the work of Moses, David and Solomon. Hereby alone the glorious mission of the Jew becomes apparent, first of battling for the ideals of righteousness, love and holiness through the unique personalities of the prophets whose prototype Abraham was,[22] then of fashioning the whole life of a people so as to lend it the sanctity of priesthood in order to dedicate it to its providential task, and finally of promoting and propagating the sacred truth as laid down in the national treasures collected by the Soferim and by means of institutions such as the Sabbath and the Synagogue which were to preserve and to spread it through all the lands and the ages. In this view which sees God's Revelation at work through the spirit rather than through the letter not by far grander than that of the narrow Halakist? Though there is a decline from the heights of prophetic vision noticeable after the Exile, there is compensation in the fact that in place of the former prophet and scribe or saint stand henceforth a whole people consecrated to the task of priests and servants of the Lord. Though sacrifice, rejected in principle by the prophet, is rendered the center of the Mosaic law and the essential form of worship, yet only by such compromise could the people

[20] Menahot 29b.

[21] Yalkut ii, 916; Sanhedrin 89a.

[22] Gen. R. xlix.

be won for the truth, and while interpolations such as are found in Psalm l, 14-15, 23, and Psalm li, 20-21, indicate the issue between the psalmist and the priest in the Temple, the remarkable selection of Isaiah xliii, 21-28, and Jeremiah vii, 21-28, as Haphtarah as if in opposition to the priestly Torah, Leviticus i-viii, betray the fact that even in the Talmudic time the prophetic spirit was not altogether dead. The same may be said of Isaiah lviii as Haphtarah for Yom ha-Kippurim: It shows that the Law represented only one side of Judaism, the Prophets and the Haggadah, Rabbinical or Hellenic, the other.

Nor in fact can the Halakah itself be fully grasped without recourse to Bible criticism and the Hellenistic literature. Take the Rabbinic rule fixing the penalty of stripes to the number of thirty-nine against the Biblical law which speaks of forty (which puzzled the Amoraim). It can only be satisfactorily accounted for by a reference to the Septuagint which preserved the original reading: "about forty."[23] So does a careful study of works representing the pre-Talmudic views and practices such as the Book of Jubilees and the recently published Falasha treatise on the Sabbath[24] cast more light on the development of the Sabbath prohibitions than most Halakic discussions of the same do. Neither is the entire Halakah concerning the Proselyte of the Gate and the Proselyte of Righteousness thoroughly understood as to its origin and development without the study of Philo and the entire Hellenistic literature and without modern Biblical research. No rite nor festival in Bible and Talmud but receives its true historical setting and elucidation from Higher Criticism and the Hellenistic literature. Whether you take the Zizith, Tefillin and Mezuzzah[25] orig-

[23] Deut. xxv, 3, see LXX and compare Makkot 21b-22.

[24] See art. Jubilees, Book of, in the Jewish Encyclopedia; cf. Geiger: Lesestuecke aus der Mishnah p. 93; Heidenheim: Bibliotheca Samaritana III 59; 91; See Berthelot: Die Stellung der Israeliten, 1896, espec. 260-302 and comp. Sifre and Targum Jer. to Deut. XXIII. 16-17; Tosifta Negaim VI 2 and Sifre to Deut. XXX 19 and article "Asenath" in the Jewish Encyclopedia.

[25] The Zizith, in Deut. xxii, 12, "twisted cords," probably holding

inally worn as amulets and gradually turned into religious ceremonies of great significance, or the dietary laws observed at first by priests and Nazarites afterwards enjoined upon the people of Israel as God's priest-people;[26] or you trace the Sabbath,[27] the agri-

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the garment close to the body to prevent unseemly exposure, comp. Exodus xx, 26; II Samuel vi, 20, are represented in Numeri xv, 38-39 as fringes with a blue ribband attached to them to serve as a prophylactic against lusting with the eye, while their original purpose was of a talismanic nature. (See Baentsch: Commentary to Numeri; Wellhausen: "Reste Arabischen Heidenthums" 144; Hasting's Bible Dictionary and Cheyne's Encyclopedia of the Bible s. v. Fringes.) In Rabbinical literature they are guardians against immoral acts (Menahot 43b-44a). The talismanic character of the Tefillin may be learned from Exodus xiii, 9; 16; where allusion is made to the practice still in use with the Samaritans of besmearing head and arm with the blood of the Passover sacrifice (see Stanley "The Samaritan Passover" in History of Jewish Church I New York 1874, p. 561), and while Deut. vi, 8, and xi, 18, is to be taken rather metaphorically, the words were regarded in the time of Josephus (see Antiquities iv, 8, 13) and by the Tannaim (Menahot iii, 7; Sifre Deut. 44; Mekilta Bo. 17) as a positive and well-defined commandment, although the talismanic character was never lost sight of (Numeri Rabba xii, 3; Targum Shir ha-Shirim viii, 3; see Monatschrift 1893, p. 445) and only turned into a prophylactic against sin (Menahot l. c.). The talismanic origin of the Mezuzzah may be learned from Isaiah lvii, 8; it is still recognized in Targum l. c. and Yerushalmi Peah i, 15d.

[26] Comp. Judges xiii, 7, 14; and Ezekiel iv, 14; xliv 31 and Exodus xxii, 30, with Leviticus xi, 1-45, and Deut. xv, 3, with 4-21.

[27] The Sabbath, originally like the Babylonian Sabbath part of the lunar system and therefore inferior to the New Moon (II Kings iv, 23; Amos viii, 5; Isaiah i, 13; lxvi, 22), became through the Law a weekly institution independent of the moon, and in importance overshadowing all other festivals as a mark of distinction for Israel and a sign between it and God (Exodus xxxi, 12-17).

cultural festivals,[28] the New Year,[29] and the Atonement Day,[30] to their origin, critical historical research alone solves the scriptural and also liturgical problems. It is the broad cosmopolitan view of the Jewish writers in the garb of Hellas which most appeals to our own sentiment, and which offers the best material for refuting the charges of narrowness raised by Christian theologians against Judaism. Of this liberal period Hillel formed the end rather than the beginning, while Antigonus of Soko is the only name preserved by tradition of generations probably representing Alexandrian influence upon Palestine. The horizon of the Halakists narrowed down so as to exclude types of men like Job and Enoch from the claim to guileless saintship;[31] the Haggadists remain under the cosmopolitan influence of Hellenists true to the prophetic spirit with its broad philanthropic view typified in Abraham

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[28] The historic records mention only the Sukkoth feast as the pilgrimage festival celebrated by the people (I Kings viii, 2; 65), the other two probably having been farmer festivals of a less general character, and while the original meaning of the Sukkoth as the pilgrim's tents (around Jerusalem) fell in oblivion (Lev. xxiii, 43), the significance of the feast as a water or rain festival which it retained in the popular mind during the second temple, as shown by the water libation and the Joy of the Drawing of water from the Pool of Siloah during the nights of the festal week (comp. Sukkah iv, 9; v, 1-4) is learned from Zachariah xiv, 8, 16-18.

[29] In the Mosaic system the New Moon of the Seventh Month was to usher in the Holy Month by louder blasts of the trumpet than was the New Moon of the other months of the year (Leviticus xxiii, 24, comp. Numeri x, 10). This connection stated by Ewald "Die Alterthuemer des Volks Israel" 1866, p. 470, and ignored by more recent writers (see Nowack: Hebraeische Archaelogie ii, 158) is confirmed by the Rabbinical institution of the three Shofar blasts, Malkiot, Zikronot, Shofarot, based upon Numeri l. c. see Sifre.

[30] See articles "Atonement, Day of" and "Azazel" in the Jewish Encyclopedia.

[31] See Kohler in Jewish Quarterly Review VII, 594; "Testament of Job" in Kohut Memorial Book p. 271.

represented as doing that great propaganda work for Judaism[32] which afterwards Christianity and Islamism did under the same impulse and in harmony with their mission as apostles of Judaism in the sense pointed out by Maimonides and Jehuda ha-Levi.[33] The entire Haggadic literature with its gems of ethical maxims can be fully appreciated and understood only after a careful study of that storehouse of legend and of instruction opened to us in these days when Egypt and Ethiopia, the Coptic and Slavonic literature yield up long-hidden treasures to light up a forgotten past. To belittle the Apocalyptic and Apocryphical writings because they are at variance with the Halakah or the Rabbinic literature in our possession is to cast away the key which alone unlocks the ancient mysteries of the Merkabah and the Eschatology and all the secrets of the Cabbalah.

A Jewish Theological School concentrating its efforts upon the Halakah resembles a medieval fortress which looks formidable to the beholder but can not hold out against the implements of modern warfare. Let its library be ever so valuable in costly manuscripts and rare editions, it is but an arsenal full of weapons of past ages; it fails to equip the future soldier of God with the power to battle for living ideas.

We are far from withholding our tribute of gratitude and appreciation from those who devote their lives to searching among the ruins and rubbish of remote lands for Genizah fragments and long forgotten writings to recover for us missing links or whole chapters of Jewish history. Nor do we belittle those endeavors by which new material is collected from haphazard remarks found in Halakic or Haggadic works buried under the dust of ages. But with the prophet we proclaim: "What has the chaff to do with the wheat? saith the Lord. Is not My word like as a fire? and like a hammer

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[32] Genesis Rabbah xxxix, and art. "Abraham" in Jewish Encyclopedia.

[33] Yad ha-Hazakah Hilk. Melakim xi, 4; Cuzari iv, 23.

that shattereth the rock?"[34] What has palaeology or philology and all the skill of handling the dead letter and time-worn manuscripts to do with the implanting of a living faith into the hearts of men such as is the sacred calling of the modern rabbi? Judaism in these days of skepticism, of religious apathy, of Mammon worship, of wholesale apostasy, requires men of power and undaunted courage, men of the spirit, men with the zeal of an Elijah and the tongue of an Isaiah, who bring down the fire from heaven to make the people cast away their idols of silver and of gold and sink upon their knees in adoration of Israel's Only One; men of lofty views and large sympathies who keep abreast of all the great movements of the age and read the signs of the times, in order to be safe and trusted guides amidst all the perplexities of life, towers of strength when all things give way. All the wisdom of Hebraist, Arabist and Chronologist fails to supply the man in the pulpit with ideas and ideals to make his words reverberate like the thunders of Sinai and illumine minds hungering for truth with new thoughts or imbue faint hearts with new faith and hope. A far wider range of knowledge, a much larger vista of human life and human history must be opened before the mental horizon of the future rabbi to make him a fit interpreter of the past and a man with the message of the living God upon his lips for the present. He must learn to view the various epochs and phases of Judaism in the light of the larger history of human thought and culture in order to be able to assign to Judaism its providential task also in our own age, and thus to voice its eternal verities with prophetic vigor and heart-thrilling eloquence.

No attempt whatsoever has as yet been made in any Jewish theological seminary to build up a system of Jewish thought all astir with the spirit of God as it moves through the ages; what is offered instead are the dry bones of legalism and of Aristotelian metaphysics. Not the bread of life, but stones are given to the student, and when he enters upon his duties as preacher and leader of con-

[34] Jeremiah xxiii, 28.

gregation he has to grope in darkness and despair until he sees light and freedom beckoning him on. Happy the young rabbi whose own natural resources hold out during the years of trial until triumph has crowned his unaided efforts. The very atmosphere of many a seminary breathes contempt for preacher and pulpit, and consequently the very art of Jewish Homeletics has been systematically neglected and treated like a step-child.

The modern preacher's task is one of the grandest, holiest and most trying ones. Into his hands is committed the future of humanity. He is to mould the destinies of home and communities. He is the appointed guardian of souls. Greater trials and problems beset his heart and mind than ever known in former days. Two worlds are arrayed for battle against each other, and unless he knows how to offer reassuring words of victory, comfort and peace amidst the fierce contest, he is not the trusty champion needed in the cause of God and humanity. Unless he possesses the fiery eloquence of a holy conviction, of a true Jewish spirit imbibed, not through mere formalism, but through penetration into the whole course of Jewish history, unless the live-coal of heavenly inspiration is upon his lips, and the living God in his heart, he is doomed to failure, a sounding bell of brass.

Jewish theology, in order to work for a living truth and a living conviction, must not be a system of mere negations; it must offer a positive answer to all vital questions of the day. It must not be merely retrospective and apologetic, but it must tell in clear accents what the message of Judaism is for the age and define in no uncertain terms its attitude towards all the great social, religious and human problems agitating the world. And in order to be able to do so it must make ample use of all the sciences and apply the results of Comparative Religion, of Ethnology and Ethnic Psychology (Völkerpsychologie), of Oriental and Classic Philology, of Ethics and Sociology in their bearing upon the Biblical, the Hellenic and Rabbinic, the Philosophic and Mystic literature of the Jew, so as to present Judaism to the world as the great religious and social factor of humanity and a power still latent in the best

the Church and the Mosque possess and achieve. Judaism, thus viewed and understood, needs not fear the searchlight of Bible Criticism or of Aryan philosophy. Bible Criticism, in showing that Mosaism and Talmudism are but phases of Judaism, which takes ever new shape in harmony with its environments, in order to be an active force, while the prophetic ideal points forward and upward, offers the best possible support to the principle of progress upon which Reform Judaism is based, while on the other hand it is the most efficient and most formidable opponent to the postulates and pretensions of Jew-hating Christianity. Greek philosophy, however, has at all times been recognized as a friend and ally of Jewish thought. Orientalism without the classic beauty of Occidental civilization is a world too narrow for the wisdom-loving, cosmopolitan Jew. But above all, in order to equip the future rabbi with the power and knowledge to speak, like the seers and sages of old, with authority and with courage on the great issues of the time, the Jewish theological school must make truth "the seal of God," uprightness and consistency its guiding principles, and it must insist on the beautiful Rabbinical maxim which says that like the ark in the Tabernacle so must every disciple of the Law be from within as from without of pure gold. If animal sacrifice is no longer regarded as a befitting form of divine worship, or the belief in bodily resurrection no longer maintained by teacher or pupil, then prayers for the same are nothing less than blasphemy; and to retain them in the Liturgy can have only a detrimental influence upon the character of the future rabbi or upon the community. Compromises in matters of conviction are a thousand times more injurious than all the radicalism of Reformers. Piety and reverence are precious elements in the makeup of the religious leader, but they dare not quench in his heart the fire of enthusiasm which comes from love of truth, from a holy conviction. The true Reformer is heir and successor to the martyrs that gave their lives for their faith; the lover of picturesqueness in Ritualism, never. Notwithstanding the outbreaks of Jew-hatred—which in God's Providence may be but the birth-throes of the

approaching Messianic time—the world waits for the Jew to proclaim anew the God of truth and righteousness, and to read again from the tables of Sinai "the Law which if a man do he shall live thereby." It respects the Jew who faithfully holds guardianship over the past, but it will *listen to and follow* the Jew who voices the truth in the name of the God of humanity, the living God who was, is, and who will be.

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In accordance with the ideas expressed above, here is added an outline of studies to serve rather as a guide than as a curriculum to be adhered to strictly.

PREPARATORY DEPARTMENT.

(15 hours a week).

GRADE D.

Bible: Genesis and Deuteronomy	3 hours a week.
Selections of Psalms and Proverbs	2 hours.
Prayerbook	1 hour.
Mishnah: Abot	2 hours
Biblical History, with texts	2 hours.
Geography	1 hour.
Grammar	2 hours
Religious Instruction from Hebrew texts	2 hours.

GRADE C.

Bible: Exodus, Leviticus and Numeri.....2 hours.
Psalms and Proverbs (continued).....2 hours.
Prayerbook (continued).....1 hour.
Mishnah: Berakot; Selections from Seder Moed.....2 hours.
Biblical History, with texts (continued).....2 hours.
Geography (continued).....1 hour.
Grammar (continued).....2 hours.
Religious Instruction from Hebrew texts.....2 hours.

GRADE B.

Bible: Isaiah and Poetical Selections.....2 hours.
Legal portions of Pentateuch, with Rashi.....1 hour.
Mishnah: Historical Selections.....2 hours.
Jewish History in Outline to 70.....2 hours.
Targum to Poetic portions of Pentateuch.....2 hours.
Midrash: Abot d. R. Nathan, or from En Yaakob.....1 hour.
Aram. Grammar and Hebrew Syntax.....2 hours.
Religious Instruction: Sabbath and Festivals, with texts from Bible and Talmud.....2 hours.

GRADE A.

Bible: Selections from Isaiah and Minor Prophets.....2 hours.
Poetic portions of Pentateuch, with Hebrew Commentators 1 hour.
Mishnah: Selections from Seder Moed.....2 hours.
Jewish History in Outline.....2 hours.
Daniel and Targum.....2 hours.
Midrash: Selections from Vayikra and Shir ha-Shirim Rabba.1 hour.
Biblical Canon .....1 hour.
Religious and Ethical Instruction from Sefer Madda.....2 hours.

COLLEGIATE DEPARTMENT.

(16 to 18 hours a week.)

FIRST COLLEGIATE.

Biblical Exegesis (Critical-Historical): Amos and Hosea.....2 hours.
Genesis, with Rashi and Rashbam.....1 to 2 hours.
Mishnah: Hullin and Selections from Seder Nashim.....2 hours.
Talmud: Introduction, with select passages.....2 hours.
Halakah: H. Shema, Tefilla; Tefillin; Shabbat historically developed .....2 hours.
Haggadah: Portions from En Yaakob.....1 hour.
Religious Philosophy: Historical Introduction; Onkelos; Philo .....2 hours.
Jewish History: From Exile to Tannaim.....2 hours.
History of Liturgy.....1 hour.
Pedagogics and Religious School Work.....2 hours.
Apocryphical Literature.....1 hour.

SECOND COLLEGIATE.

Biblical Exegesis (Critical-Historical): Micah and Isaiah...2 hours.
Leviticus and Deuteronomy, with Hebrew Commentators..1 hour.
Mishnah: Seder Nezikin.....2 hours.
Talmud: Selections from Gittin, Kiddushin.....2 hours.
Halakah: Maakalot Asurot, Talmud and Code.....2 hours
Haggadah: Midrash Rabba.....2 hours.
Religious Philosophy: Moreh and Saadiah, Selections.....2 hours.
Jewish History from the Mishnah to close of Amoraim period.2 hours.
History of Liturgy.....1 hour.
Pedagogics and Sabbath School Work.....2 hours.
Pseudepigraphic or Apocalyptic Literature.....1 hour.

THIRD COLLEGIATE.

Bible: Jeremiah and Ezekiel.....2 hours.
Selections: Genesis, with Targumim, Ibn Ezra, Nahmanides, etc.....1 hour.
Mishnah: Zeraim, Zebahim.....2 hours.
Halakah: H. Zedakah (Peah), Gerim and Shemittah (historical).....2 hours.
Haggadah: Midrash Rabba, Tanhumah and Pesiktah.....2 hours.
Religious Philosophy: Saadiah, Kuzari.....2 hours.
Jewish History and Literature, Geonic to Spanish Period....2 hours.
Yad ha-Hazakah and Shulhan Aruk, Orah Hayyim (cursory reading).....1 hour.
Ethical Literature.....1 hour.
Hellenistic and Apocalyptic Literature.....1 hour.
Homiletic Literature.....1 hour.
Systematic Theology.....1 hour.

JUNIOR GRADE.

Bible: Psalms.....2 hours.
Exodus and Leviticus with Targumim and Hebrew Commentators.....2 hours.
Mishnah: Toharot, with Maimonidean Code.....2 hours.
Halakah: H. Kiddushin and Gittin (Marriage and Divorce)..2 hours.
Haggadah: Midrash Rabba, Tanhumah and Pesiktah.....2 hours.
Religious Philosophy: Maimonides, with select readings....2 hours.
Jewish History and Literature from 12th to 18th centuries..2 hours.
History of the Sadducees, Pharisees and Essenes.....1 hour.
Ethical Literature.....1 hour.
Homiletics, theoretical and practical.....2 hours.
Systematic Theology.....2 hours.

SENIOR CLASS.

Job and Kohelet .....2 hours.
Historical Introduction into the Biblical Literature.....2 hours.
History of Talmudism, Karaism and Cabbalah.....2 hours.
Introduction into New Testament and Koran.....1 hour.
Comparative Religion and Jewish Theology.....1 hour.
Systematic Theology and Ethics.....2 hours.
Modern Jewish History; Orthodoxy and Reform.....2 hours.
Religious Philosophy: Crescas, Albo, Gabirol and others....2 hours.
History of Liturgy, after Zunz.....1 hour.
Homiletics . . ..2 hours.
Practical Theology: Pedagogics and Sabbath-School work...1 hour.
Elocution .....2 hours.
Besides these, Arabic and Syriac Languages in the Collegiate Department, optional . . ..3 hours.

GEMARA.

(Translated by Harry G. Friedman.*)

THE term forming the superscription is one of the best known and most frequently used expressions in Jewish literature. Who does not know that Gemara is the synonym of Talmud and designates the vast spiritual product on the one hand of the Babylonian, and on the other of the Palestinian schools of the third, fourth and fifth Christian centuries, which developed on the basis of the Mishna in the form of a commentary to it, and finally became in literary shape the Jerusalem (Palestinian) and Babylonian Talmud. Everybody knows what "Gemara lernen" signifies, and will, in studying the Talmud, endeavor to discover exactly what "die Gemara sagt." And yet, in spite of this absolute certainty as regards the usage of the word Gemara, the term has not yet been sufficiently investigated and understood in more than one direction. In the special literature on this subject, too, an uncertainty prevails concerning its *etymology, its original meaning and its history,* indeed, even concerning its *grammatical* form. It is the purpose of the following discussion to remove this uncertainty as far as possible.

1. I begin with the *grammatical* form of the word. It seems to be taken as an unchallenged assumption that "Gemara" is a feminine noun, like "Mishna," as it were. When the word was taken over into Latin it presented a feminine form at once, and was declined in -a, like a feminine; the other languages, in so far

* Thanks are due to Dr. Henry Malter for assistance in the translation and proof-reading of this article.—Tr.

as they distinguish substantives according to their grammatical gender, likewise treated it as a feminine, and in German, e. g., it is of course "die Gemara." This consensus of popular usage has been sanctioned by the dictionaries. Levy (I, 343b.), as well as Jastrow (255b.), add to the word גְּמָרָא the specification "f" (= feminine), and obviously consider the א ָ at the end of the word as the formative suffix of the feminine noun. This is, indeed, a remarkable example of the force of habit, which even the trained scientific observer can not escape. For, in the very article at the head of which גמרא is designated as feminine, examples of the use of the word are cited, from which it follows beyond a doubt, that it is a *masculine* noun, and that the ending א ָ indicates the emphatic state of the Aramaic noun. It will suffice to quote two of these examples, the first of which is emphasized in both dictionaries,—the form with suffix גְּמָרֵיהּ, Arachin 29a (Jastrow points גַּמְרֵיהּ, but it can also be read גְּמָרֵיהּ, in fact, this is probably the correct reading—cf. חֲלָקֵהּ, שְׁלָמֵיהּ Daniel 4,[12]), which points to the absolute state גְּמַר; and מִשְׁמֵיהּ דגמרא (cf. below), Yoma 14b, where the suffix יה ֵ (not ה ָ) clearly shows that in Talmudic usage גמרא was felt to be a masculine noun. That even later the knowledge of this fact did not disappear among those who busied themselves with the language of the Talmud is proved by *Tanchum Jerushalmi*. In his dictionary, at the conclusion of the article גמר (cf. below), he adds the remark that the Talmud is called also גמר. It is therefore obvious that in Tanchum's sphere it was known that the word was not Gemara but Gemar, and that it was a masculine substantive. I am glad to be able to say that Dalman designated גְּמָרָא in his dictionary (p. 78) as "a. m.," i. e., as an Aramaic masculine noun, referring to the form without suffix גְּמַר in the

Targum to Ezekiel 27^{24}. In C. Levias, Grammar of the Aramaic Idiom (1900) I have not found the word noted anywhere; it belongs in § 856.

2. As far as the *etymology* of the word Gemara is concerned, the fundamental meaning of the verb גמר "to complete," has been for the most part decisive also for the explanation of the Gemara as a work of literature. In *Buxtorf* (Lexicon Chald., Talmudicum, etc., col. 452) we read: "Gemara. Sic vocatur altera pars Juris Talmudici, quasi dicas supplementum, complementum. Prima Pars dicitur Mischna." This etymology is still adhered to by Schürer (Gesch. des jüd. Volkes I. 3, 126 Anm. 28 "von גָּמַר vollenden"). According to *Levy* (l. c.) גמרא denotes: Vollendung, perfectio, Vervollständigung oder Vollkommenheit: insbes. oft: Gemara als Benennung derjenigen Sammelwerke.... wodurch das mündliche (und biblische) Gesetz seine Vollendung erhalten hat." Here the conception of completion has been significantly extended, and laid down somewhat dogmatically. *Mielziner* (Introduction to the Talmud, Cincinnati, 1896, p. 56) is not quite satisfied with this etymology and therefore offers the choice of two derivations. "This term, derived from the verb גמר which in Hebrew means to finish, to complete, and in Aramaic also to learn, to teach, signifies either the completion, the supplement (to the Mishna) or is identical with the word Talmud, which is often used in its place, meaning the teaching, the study." *Strack* (Einleitung in den Talmud, 2d ed. 1894, p. 4) has already freed himself altogether from the idea "Vervollständigung, Vollendung," and states: "גמרא bedeutet da, wo es in den Talmuden ursprünglich ist, überall: Gelerntes, Tradition." In this statement of Strack only the plural, "in den Talmuden," is incorrect, for to my knowledge our term does not occur at all in the *Palestinian Talmud*. And also the Palestinian Midrashic literature does not know it. From Palestinian texts only the expression גְּמָרָה שֶׁל תּוֹרָה can be quoted from the introduction to Shir rabba and the introduction to Koheleth rabba. The expression

means the "conclusion of the Thora," i. e., the completing of the study of the Thora, which is to be celebrated by a feast, just as King Solomon gave a banquet (I. Kings, 3,[15]), when wisdom was bestowed upon him by God.

3. In order to learn precisely the meaning of the word Gemara we must go back to the verb from which it is derived. It is the *Aramaic* (occurring, however, in this sense *only in the Babylonian Talmud*) גְּמַר to learn. The verb is, however, in this sense, a school term, which denotes almost exclusively, and at any rate, primarily, the studying and learning (Lernen und Erlernen) of the traditional lore and of single statements of it. It is synonymous with the verb ילף (אלף) which alone was used in Palestine, whereas, in the Babylonian schools, alongside of ילף (= Heb. למד) the verb גמר came to predominate. How this verb, which also in Aramaic otherwise means "to complete," came to denote "to learn," becomes intelligible in view of the following. The study of the oral traditional material consisted in hearing it recited again and again by the teacher, and then repeating it orally, until it was finally impressed on the memory. When this was accomplished, the acquisition of the subject matter was "completed." A story in Talmud (Erubin 54b) relates that Rabbi Perida repeated the lesson to one of the pupils four hundred times, until he succeeded in learning it ליה ד' מאה זימני וגמר (Var. תני) דהוה מתני. Accordingly גמר denoted the memorizing of the traditional lore.[1] With regard to the Halachic teachings that were forgotten during the time of mourning for Moses (Temura 15b) Samuel the Babylonian Amora says: דאישתכח להו אישתכח ודגמירן להו הוו גמירי כמשה רבינו "what they had forgotten remained forgotten, but

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[1] Perhaps the term was originally גמר ליה מלף or גמר למיתני "to learn thoroughly," which then became גמר in a pregnant sense, to commit to memory.—Tanchum Jerushalmi, too, explains the meaning "to learn" for the verb גמר in a similar way. The part of his article גמר referred to here, I have reproduced in my essay, Aus dem Wörterbuch T. J. 's (p. 102).

what they had succeeded in learning, they knew as well as Moses himself."—To learn anything from anyone is expressed by גמר מן פימיה (Cf. Chagiga 15b), Hebrew, גמר מפי (Erubin 54b), or shortened גמר מן (Chullin 18b). Raba says in reference to a Halachic teaching heard from Joseph: האלהים אמרה וגמירנא לה מיניה ("By God, he said it and from him I learnt it"). But I will not follow up here all the manifold uses of the verb גמר in the Babylonian Talmud.[2] One use I will, however, point out, in which גמר is contrasted with the verb סבר and designates the memorizing of the traditional material as against the intelligent comprehension and examination of it. Thus we have the well-known statement (Shabbath 63a) ליגמר אינש יהדר ליסבר (One should learn first and comprehend afterwards). This, as it is supposed in Erubin 13a (Sota 20a), was done by the famous Rabbi Meir; under R. Ishmael he acquired the subject-matter, under Rabbi Akiba he entered into the meaning of it אתא לקמיה דרבי ישמעאל וגמר גמרא יהדר אתא לקמיה דרבי עקיבא וסבר סברא.

4. In the statement of the Talmud just quoted, the verb גמר is, in the usual way, joined to its own noun. Naturally, as the verb was very frequently employed, this noun (גְּמָר, emphatic state גְּמָרָא) was likewise often used. We cite a few examples: Sanh. 82b below (Cf. Pesachim 69a) אדכריה רב לגמריה; Menachoth 7a: ואתא קמיה דרב חסדא לאדכורי גמריה Chullin 103b: רב אסי גמריה איעקר ליה; Rosh Hashana 14b רבי עקיבא גמריה איסתפק לי"ה; Shabbath 130b: אגב שיטפך רחיט לך גמרך. In all these instances the substantive denotes that which has been *learnt*, the *subject-matter which has been committed to memory*. Especially frequent is the expression גמ"א גמיר לה used of anyone who has received a statement as the oral tradition from his teacher; cf. Erubin 38b, Taan. 2b, Shebuoth 12a, Rosh Hashana 4a, Zebachim 13a. In

[1] More detail will be given in the continuation of my work on the "oldest terminology of Jewish exegesis" which will appear shortly under the title, "The Terminology of the Palestinian Amoraim."

the plural the expression is גמרא גמירי לה; cf. Berach. 54b (in connection with a Biblical legend); Pesachim 82b (a Halachic tradition), likewise Shabbath 96b, Nazir 64a. In place of the full expression the abbreviated form גְּמִירִי (participle plu. mas.) is also used to introduce traditional statements. The biggest part of the traditional statements introduced by this word is non-Halachic in content. Thus with גמירי are introduced propositions ethical in content, cf. Berach. 29a, Sota 8a, ib. 11a; Agadic traditions about Biblical history, cf. Erubin 63b, Aboda Zara 9a, ib. 14b.; archeological statements, cf. Sukka 5b, Zebachim 54b, Menachoth 88a, data of the most varied sort belonging to astronomy (Berach. 58b), astrology (ib. 59a), natural science (Shabbath 92a, Chullin 63a), demonology (Sanh. 44a). In cases where historical facts are described as known through tradition, גמ״א has the same function as גְּמִירִי which we have just discussed. For example, Taanith 28a בטל התמיד גמרא (that on the 17th of Tammuz the daily sacrifice ceased is a tradition). See there also further examples for this use of the word גמרא ; cf. also Taanith 20a, Baba Kamma 82b, Makkoth 23b. Other instances of the use of the word גמרא in the meaning, *traditional knowledge* are: Nazir 39a גמרא הוה בידינו; B. Kamma 61a גמרא היא דשלחו ליה ; Erubin 78a וכולהו גמרא ; Shabbath 55a גמרא ולא ידענא מאי טעמא Sometimes גמרא is used in contrast to קרא, that which is known by the *tradition* and that which is known from the Bible. See Nazir 25b, למה לי קרא גמרא גמריני לה. Cf. R. Hashana 31a, Chullin 27a, Krithoth 19a. Strange is the statement occurring a number of times that a teacher of the law taught something "in the name of the tradition"(משמיה דגמרא) This expression seems to mean that the one who reported the tradition could not give the name of his authority, but referred to "tradition" in general. It occurs in the instance of the Babylonian Amora Abaji (Yoma 14b) and Acha b. Raba (Yebam. 86a, Kiddushin 53a), but also in a report in regard to Hillel (Pesachim 115a). So, too, the legend of David, B. Kamma 61a.

—Similar is the משמיה דאולפנא which likewise occurs only in the Babylonian Talmud (Erubin 67a, Arachin 28b).

5. With the meaning of our word shown in the last quoted instances—in which the traditionally transmitted material is, as it were, *personified,* since teachings are reported "in its name,"—we have somewhat approached the special meaning which the word has in the history of literature and which we have been seeking. It denotes the totality of the material, handed down by tradition in the Babylonian schools, in explanation of the Mishna, namely, the Talmud as it received its final redaction at the hands of Ashi and Rabina. It is well possible, that when this material, taken in its totality, was spoken of, it was called Gemara, but in the entire vast extent of the Babylonian Talmud, where, as we have seen, this word occurs so frequently, there does not appear any instance of this one meaning, in which it with certainty denotes the Talmud. In the censored editions of the Talmud the word Talmud is for the first time frequently substituted by the more innocent sounding Gemara; the first editions and the manuscripts always have תלמוד in such cases. (Cf. M. Lattes. Saggio di Giunte e correzioni al Lessico Talmudico, Torino, 1879, p. 85. See examples in the appendix to the second edition of the first volume of my Agada der Tanaiten, p. 479f, also die Älteste Terminologie, p. 202.) The characterization of the various periods of life, found at the close of chapter five of Mishna Aboth, contains the statement: בן חמש עשרה לתלמוד. Here, too, in the later editions (also in the prayer books) לגמרא was put in place of לתלמוד. Moreover, the whole passage is not an original part of the Mishna; it is also omitted in Lowe's edition, likewise in Taylor's Sayings of the Jewish Fathers, see especially p. 43. Moreover, as it may incidentally be remarked here, even by the word תלמוד the "Talmud" in its narrower sense is referred to only in few cases. The only instance where the Babylonian Talmud speaks of the "Babylonian Talmud" (B. Mezia 85a תלמודא בבלאה[1] and here also the printed editions read גמרא instead of Talmud)

[1] Cf. also Sanh. 24a תלמודה של בבל.

means, at any rate, the Babylonian Talmud in that stage of development in which it was impressed on the memory of Zeira, who, as we are told there, desired to forget it again.

6. Although the word Gemara is not used in the Babylonian Talmud itself to designate the Talmud, the examples of its use collected in § 4 suffice to show how the word acquired this special meaning. We cite a few more passages which prove that popular usage did not err when it designated as Gemara that literary work which is officially called Talmud. Nachman b. Izhak, the well-known Babylonian Amora of the fourth century (died 356), who introduced mnemonic sentences, the first external aids for the redaction of the immense material of the Babylonian Talmud (Cf. Die Agada der babylonischen Amoräer, p. 134; Jacob Brüll. Die Mnemotechnik des Talmuds, Wien, 1864, p. 21), described himself (Pesachim 105b) as גמרנא וסדרנא "transmitter of the tradition" and "systematizer." He thereby applies the name "Gemara" to the whole of that material, to which he devotes the activity indicated in the two epithets. Mesharshaya, an Amora of the 5th century, says to his sons (Horajoth 12a) כי בעיתו מיעל מיגמר קמיה רבייכו גרסו מתניתא ועלו "If you want to go to your teacher to study under him, first repeat carefully the text of the Mishna." Here the Mishna is the substratum of the lecture, while the content of the lecture itself is characterized by the verb גמר; it is indeed the Talmud to the Mishna. Especially important is the story in Erubin 32b; here, after the explanation of a Mishna by a number of scholars had obtained the approval of Nachman b. Jacob, they asked him קבעיתו ליה בגמרא, i. e. have you (referring to Nachman and his teacher Samuel) incorporated this in the traditional material? They mean to ask whether this explanation is thereafter always to be traditionally transmitted along with its substratum, the Mishnaic statement. This detail coming from the second half of the third century gives us an insight into the formation of the text of the Talmud, for it shows that not all the questions, answers, and explanations, as they emerged in the

school during the discussion of the Mishna, were given a place in the explanation of the Mishna, which was to be transmitted as the tradition. This verb קבע is thus to be accepted as the term for the work of redaction, which produced the Talmud (Cf. also R. Hashana 32a above וקבעיה רבא בשמיה). As a matter of fact, however, the word גמרא appears in the question asked of R. Nachman as the designation for the *authoritative text of the Talmud.*

7. The importance of such a passage cited from Erubin 32a naturally did not escape the *Gaon Sherira.* He quotes it where he describes, in his famous epistle, the gradual redaction of the Talmud, and uses himself the same expression קבע בגמרא for the redaction of the text of the Talmud (Cf. ed. Neubauer. Medieval Jewish Chronicles I, p. 23f). Elsewhere, too, he uses the term גמרא to designate the Talmud. Cf. p. 9. .... מרחנן כדרחנן....ואמרינן עלה בגמרא ואמרינן בגמרא; likewise, p. 22 above; p. 18, line 7 אמרינון בגמרא; p. 26, l. 6 גמרא דהאשה נקנית; ib. l. 7 בגמרא; p. 4, l. 1 בגמרה ריבמורח Also in Seder Tannaim ve-Amoraim (in Neubauer ib. I, 179) we read תיקנוהו חכמים בגמרא ; והוסיפו אותם חכמים בגמרא. I can not undertake the further history of the application of the word Gemara to designate the text of the Talmud or the Talmud in its entirety, because the data for it are wanting. Suffice it to affirm here that as the literary name of the work, "Talmud" has always been preferred. The scholars of *Kairuwan,* who occasioned Sherira's Epistle through their questions, already formulated their question thus (ib. p. 26): כיצר נכתבה המשנה ונכרחב הרחלמוד. Sherira himself speaks of רבנן אימוראי של התלמוד p. 21, l. 13. Abraham Ibn Daud tells of the redaction and conclusion of the Babylonian Talmud in the following words: החל לכתוב את התלמוד (Ashi) והיא (ib. p. 59, l. 5): and רהם סיימו את התלמוד בבלי (ib. l. 6). And he says of R. Jochanan (p. 57): והוא חבר תלמוד ירושלמי. That "Gemara," however, also designated the Talmud as a literary work,—for this we may use the testimony of Menachem Meiri of Perpignan,

who characterizes the period of the Sabboraim thus (see the excerpt from בירח הבזירה in Neubauer II, 224) והיו עדיין לימרים התלמיד על פה כי לא נתפשט מכל וכל חיבור הגמרא. Strack (Einleitung in den Talmud, p. 3) quotes from Steinschneider's Catalog der Handschriften der Hamburger Stadtbibliothek no. 165, the note of a manuscript written in 1184 of the treatises Baba Kamma, Baba Mezia, Baba Bathra כתבתי אלו תלתא באבי גמרא לעצמי. In our printed editions of the Talmud גמרא abbreviated גמ' is placed at the head of every section of the text of the Talmud, while the preceding passage of the Mishna is marked by מתניתין. I have not the material for determining whether these external signs in the printed editions are adopted from the manuscripts or are only the innovation of the publishers. In the old manuscript fragment from which Schechter and Singer have published a part of the Talmud treatise Kerithoth (Cambridge, 1896) the text of the Talmud is not separated from the text of the Mishna by any superscription of this sort. Moreover at the head of each Perek all the Mishna to it is given. In the text of the Talmud, sections are in part indicated by the superscription פי' (=פיסקא section, paragraph) and in part by the word מתני' with which the particular Mishna, then in order, is again introduced, abbreviated, however, towards the end.

8. In the Jerusalem Talmud, as has already been pointed out, neither the verb גְּמַר in the sense of learning nor גמרא occur. Naturally both are found in the Babylonian Talmud in the mouth of Palestinian authorities, for the terminology of the Babylonian schools was applied also to traditions that emanated from Palestine. The term "Gemara" was nevertheless applied to the Palestinian Talmud as well as to the Babylonian. For some data pertaining to the subject at issue I am under obligations to my learned friend, Mr. B. Rattner, of Wilna, the author of critical scholia to the Jeruschalmi אהבת ציון וירשלים. The Aruch quotes, at the begining of the section אנטיפהא (ed. Kohut I, 147b), the Jerusalem Talmud to Berach. V, 1, as follows:

בגמ' דאפילו רמלך שואל בשלומו בירוש'. In the section חברבר (III 342a) he quotes both Talmuds to Berach. V, 1, thus בבבלי ירושלמי בגמרא. In the section סמנטר (VI, 74b) the citation reads thus: ירו'בפ"ק בברכות בגמרא אמר ר' טרפון —R. Abraham b. David of Posquieres says in the Hassaga to Hilch. Keriath Shema VI, 7: גם בחכמי הגמרא היו אומרים and he has in mind a passage in Jerushalmi.—In R. Moses b. Nachman's Milchamoth to Pesachim V, § 20 we read —שוו השמועה בגמרא ירושלמית here j. Terumoth X, 4 is meant.

Concerning the later usage we must state further that copies of the Talmud were designated by the word Gemara, and as the word had long been regarded as a Hebrew feminine, a plural Gemaroth was formed. In the Bull of Pope Julius III, of May 29, 1554 (quoted in Grätz, Gesch. der Juden IX, 358) the copies of the Talmud doomed to the flames are thus spoken of: "certum Hebraicorum librorum volumen Ghemarot Talmud nuncupatum." Asulai presents his remarks on manuscripts of the Talmud under the caption גמרא (Cf. Shem Hagedolim, II, 26f), and speaks in it of גמרא ברכות, גמרא מסכת ברכות, נוסחאות, of גמרא כתובות and in plural איזה גמרות רפוס ישן גמרא ישנית

In conclusion I wish to state clearly that in determining the grammatical form of the word Gemara it is not at all my intention or wish to bring about a change in the usage that has prevailed since centuries. Gemara has become a feminine noun for all times, just as "Bible" is a feminine substantive in German and French and other languages, although "Biblia" is originally the plural of the neuter (*Βιβλια*, the books) and not a singular of the feminine noun; the recognition of the fact has only a theoretical value. In such cases, too, we may take it as valid principle מנהג עוקר הלכה.

W. Bacher.

Budapest, March, 1904.

THE YEAR 1903 IN JEWISH HISTORY.

BY G. DEUTSCH.

WRITING history of our own age fills us with the importance of the historian's task. It teaches us the difficulty of gathering reliable information, of properly grouping and of scientifically selecting the facts which make history. Official documents always speak with a view to the public and not with regard to the information of posterity. Where a resignation from a pulpit is tendered with heavy heart because of ill health and accepted with great reluctance, the whole procedure is often a kind way of kicking the man out, although the minutes of the congregation, a first-class contemporary source, say the contrary. On the other hand, people in a position to know withhold the facts, partly because they are interested in keeping the matter quiet, partly because they would get themselves into trouble, and so even from contemporary sources we learn a great deal which is not true, and we are kept ignorant regarding facts which are true. I envy people who are so positive about the reasons for R. Eliezer ben Hyrcanus' excommunication,[1] for I know a man who was discharged from a charitable institution because of a serious breach of morality, while officially he had resigned, considering it incompatible with his religious views that children under his care should be permitted to write on Sabbath.

This premise was necessary in order to present an excuse for my own shortcomings. Often enough in teaching and writing I hear Mephistopheles whisper:

[1] Baba Mezia, 59 b.

Habt Ihr von Gott, der Welt und was sich drin bewegt,
Definitionen nicht mit grosser Kraft gegeben?
Und wollt Ihr recht ins Innre gehen,
Habt Ihr davon, Ihr muesst es grad' gestehen,
So viel als von Herrn Schwerdtleins Tod gewusst!

There is, however, another great difficulty in writing Jewish history. It extends over such a vast territory and over such a variety of subjects that one has to be posted on the political economy of Hungary, as well as on the police laws of Russia, in order to do justice to the task. Careful reading of the papers of all countries, coupled with an extensive correspondence, would be necessary in order to obtain correct information on the facts which go to make history of the Jews. One man could not do it; it would require a seminar with some means at its command in order to prepare the material for the future historian. Let us hope that this annual will pave the way for it.

Till Eulenspiegel, when asked how a wise man should act answered: See how the fools are acting and do the opposite. If we understand this advice not literally but merely in the sense that the consciousness of failings is the first step to improvement, this rule will apply to Jewish historiography. Our historians have been accustomed to look upon Jewish history too much from the rabbinical point of view. Graetz closes his "Vokstuemliche Geschichte der Juden" with the establishment of the rabbinical seminaries to which he ascribes the task assigned to the prophet Elijah in the Talmud,[2] viz., to solve all difficulties. He therefore sees in the rabbinical seminaries the fulfilment of the Messianic prophecies. To me the admission of Lionel de Rothschild to the English Parliament means a great deal more, and Jews' College is merely a slow consequence of that fact. In 1782 Loeb Cohen, or, as he was officially called, Levi Barent Cohen, Lionel de Rothschild's grandfather, addressed a letter to Ezekiel Landau, chief rabbi of Prague,

[2] Eduyoth, viii, 7

asking him whether it was permissible to open an umbrella on the Sabbath, which the rabbi of course denied.[3] With men of Loeb Cohen's type of leading men of the community, rabbis like Tebele Schiff or Solomon Herschell were in full harmony, while for Lionel de Rothschild as Parnas a rabbi had to be a man of German academic training, as long as Jewish ministers of English education could not be had, and so Alfred L. Cohen, Loeb's great-grandson, quite consistently founded a prize for the student of Jews' College showing the greatest proficiency, not in solving ritual questions, but in English literature.[4]

Similarly Graetz devoted a disproportionately large space to the controversy between Jacob Emden and Jonathan Eybeschitz, while he does not mention the important part which the Jews at that time played as farmers of the tobacco monopoly and as pioneer manufacturers.

If we do not wish to fall into the same error, we must look upon Jewish history from the point of view of the Jewish people. In this respect the year 1903 will rank next to 1096 and 1648. The massacres of the crusades and of the Cossacks have been repeated with just those alterations which the twentieth century accomplishments, as telegraph, newspaper, international politics, etc., required. The slaughters of Kishineff, April 19-20, and its sequel at Homel, September 14, will be as black a spot on the pages of Russian history as the St. Bartholomew was for France, and the Inquisition for Spain. On Kishineff we have quite a literature,[5] and

[3] Noda Bi-Yehudah, 2d collection, Orach Chajim, No. 40.

[4] Jewish Chronicle, Dec. 1903, p. 8.

[5] W. C. Stiles: Out of Kishineff, New York, 1903; H. Dagan: Les massacres de Kishinef et la situation des proletaires juifs en Russie in Cahiers de la quinzaine, Paris, 1903; Leo Errera: Les massacres de Kishinef. Brussels, 1903; Michael Davitt: Within the Pale. A true story of anti-semitic persecution in Russia. Philadelphia & New York, 1903; Told: Die Judenmassacres in Kischinew, Berlin, n. d.; Wladimir Korolenko: Haus 13. Eine Episode aus dem Kischinewer Massacre, Berlin, 1904; Isidore Singer: Russia at the bar of the American people. A memorial of

about Homel, information is given in the Jewish Encyclopedia. It is needless to repeat here the horrible details. The fact remains that in a large city with a military garrison the authorities allowed the mob for two days full freedom of murdering, pillaging and raping. No attempt at whitewashing will ever free the Russian government from the responsibility for this outrage. The government had been informed that the violent diatribes of Krushevan in his two papers, the Besarabetz of Kishineff and the Znamiya of St. Petersburg, incited the populace to bloodshed; the local governor was invoked by the Jews in time to prevent the imminent massacre, but the government seems to have thought that a little Jew-killing would be a good means to cool the passions of the mob, and to turn them away from revolutionary movements. The best proof for the truth of this fact is the Easter season of 1904, which was absolutely free from the usual holiday celebrations of the Russian mob, although the war in the East must have considerably reduced the military forces, and although political agitators spread the old calumny, recurring in every war since medieval times, that the Jews aided the enemy. The pompous edict of the Czar, issued March 12, which promulgated religious liberty, while not moderating the least of the disabilities under which Jews and Christian dissenters are suffering, shows clearly that the world was to be deceived by the pretense that the mob was beyond control of the authorities in its justified provocation by the usurious practices of the Jews, a statement given prominence by Count Cassini, the Russian ambassador to the United States, although, as the reception of the delegates of representative Jewish bodies by President Roosevelt and Secretary of State Hay June 15, proves the trick had no effect.

The general policy of the Russian administration with regard to the Jews has not been unfavorable. Within the Pale of Settlement, where, according to the law of May 3 (15), 1882, residence in the villages is prohibited to the Jews, 101 villages were raised

Kishinef, New York, 1904; The voice of America on Kishinef, edited by Cyrus Adler, Philadelphia, 1904.

to the rank of towns, May 23,[6] and about fifty others have been added to the list since. In individual instances Jewish students were permitted to enter colleges beyond the limit fixed by law, and the Senate, often appealed to in the numerous difficulties which the restrictive laws against the Jews offer to interpretation, has in general taken a more liberal view. While the Senate, being a court, is not officially an exponent of the government's policy, it hardly seems to admit of any doubt that there is a desire on the part of the government to have the law interpreted in a more liberal way. A decided improvement can, of course, not be expected unless Russia will change her entire system of government, which under the present conditions seems not unlikely. The Talmud says: The ring which Ahasverus handed to Haman had a greater effect than the preaching of the forty-eight prophets and seven prophetesses who arose in Israel,[7] which means that a national disaster has more effect than any sermon in removing inveterate evils. The battle of Jena, 1806, brought a regeneration to Prussia, and to the Jews the declaration in the edict of March 11, 1812, that they are "Buerger und Einlaender." The battle of Koeniggraetz, 1866, brought to Austria the "Staatsgrundgesetze" of December 21, 1867, which removed the last disabilities of the Jews. The blowing up of the Petropavlovsk and the crossing of the Yalu river may have the same effect for the Russian Jews.

Conditions in the East show us what an immense amount of labor is awaiting us, when once the Jewish question in Russia should be settled. Persia and Morocco present exactly the same picture which conditions in Europe presented at the time of the crusades. About Persia the only source of information comes through the reports of the principals of the schools maintained by the Alliance Israelite Universelle. It is the same monotonous, sad story of Jewish peddlers murdered in the villages, where they are doing their business, of occasional outbreaks of mob violence against the whole population of a town, of an unwillingness and,

[6] Hazefirah, No. 119

[7] Megillah, 14, a.

often enough, of the inability of the authorities to put a stop to such outrages, while the spiritual life of the Jews is one of utter degradation which presents itself as incredible superstition and laziness. Morocco has had her usual riots. Jewish shops were looted in Mekinez April 4, and the whole Jewish population of Staat had to flee for their lives November 17, to Casablanca, where the British consul took them under his protection. The defeat of the pretender Bu Hamara January 30 evidently had not the expected effect of pacifying the country. Savages have among other prejudices also the belief that they are not beaten before they are killed, and it seems as if only a European intervention would be able to produce a change in Morocco, such as was done in Egypt. The latter country, however, had the Easter excesses which places with a strong Greek element seem to require for the proper celebration of the miracle of resurrection. The population of Port Said committed excesses against the Jews March 25, which, however, were soon suppressed. Roumania has of late seemed inclined to at least partly redeem the pledges given at the Berlin congress of 1878, but it remains to be seen whether this is not merely a ruse for the sake of winning the good will of European financiers or at best a temporary measure in the interest of the country's finances. Some of the measures decreed during the last year were exceedingly harsh. The president of the Bukarest police prohibited the selling of souvenir postal cards by Jews, and said to a committee who told him that this measure meant starvation for them: Either hang yourself or emigrate. Of importance perhaps is an essay published by Judge Mandrea in a legal journal in which citizenship was claimed for Jews born on Roumanian soil who had served in the Roumanian army.

While in Roumania conditions seem to be improving, Bulgaria which before its independence was almost unknown in Jewish history begins to work for a place in Greek Christian civilization. Serious excesses occurred in Sophia June 14, and grave complications may be apprehended if the country, which is a political volcano, should see another outbreak. Things of that kind come

suddenly in the Balkan territory, as the example of Servia has proven. The blood accusation is there just as indispensable as in all the other Greek Catholic countries, and Bechor Chididiji was tried for five years under such an accusation, until his case was finally dismissed, March 26.

The necrology of this year must prominently mention Pope Leo XIII. who died in his ninety-fourth year, July 21. His Pontificate lasted twenty-five years and was, no doubt, the most powerful one in the history of the nineteenth century. He was a master of the art of diplomacy, and has used anti-semitism just as well as any other political factor from which the Church could profit. He denied the request of Madame Dreyfus to say a word in behalf of her husband; he refused to say a word against the blood accusation, although he was approached by important personalities, as Sir Horace Rumbolt,[8] at that time English ambassador in Vienna, but on the other hand, he repeated to Madame Severine the usual anti-semitic cant that the Jews own all the wealth of the world, and he repeatedly decorated anti-semitic leaders, as it was with his sanction that Drumont in Paris and Lueger in Vienna received the heartiest support of ecclesiastic orders and dignitaries. His successor will not be any different, although he received Dr. Herzl in private audience. The policy of the Roman Catholic Church will always be that of Innocent III., who said that the Jews have to be kept in the state of oppression, so that their misery should be a testimony to the glory of Christ. Still the twentieth of September, 1870, is a historic fact, and the recent visit of President Loubet to the Quirinal is something which cannot entirely be lost as an example to other Catholic sovereigns, although the Pope of today as the ten successors who shall rule after him according to the prophecy of St. Malachias will proclaim with Heine:

Das alte Canossa ist laengstens untergegangen.
Wir moechten ein neues bauen,
Doch fehlt dazu das Beste,
Die Marmorsteine, die Quadern
Und die gekroenten Gaeste.

[8] London Times, June 10, 1903.

The difference between the times of the Pope-King and those of the present kingdom of Italy cannot better be characterized than by the fact that Signor Luzzatti has been for the fifth time called to the ministry of Finance, November 3, while Giuseppe Ottolenghi, who in the former ministry had occupied the post of Minister of War, has been given the command of an army corps.

France fighting clericalism, has become the natural ally of Italy, and, strange to say, the rabbinical philosophy of history has been justified in this case again. "Every tyrannical government has hated Israel and oppressed it."[9] As long as France was in the clutches of clericalism, which is the most dangerous form of tyranny the world has ever known, it had to have a Jewish victim. The collapse of the monstrous clerical intrigue, the victim of which was Captain Dreyfus, seems to bring the improvement. The socialistic deputy Jaurès reopened the Dreyfus case in Parliament, April 6, and the Minister of War M. André, promised an investigation. The petition of the Captain to have his trial reopened has meantime received favorable consideration, and there is reasonable hope that the cause of justice will finally triumph.

Algeria, at one time the center of the anti-semitic movement, has seen an anti-Jewish riot at Medeasa, June 6, but, while one victim was killed and three others wounded, it hardly can be considered significant. The rioters were Mohammedans who have not yet become reconciled to the French rule in the seventy-five years of its existence, and have not learned the lessons of civilization. Nor do the new ordinances for the election of the Algerian consistory, issued September 21, deserve any particular notice. It will never do to introduce a hierarchical system into Judaism, and therefore the whole consistorial constitution, now almost a century old, will never be more than a parade institution, and especially so in the Orient, where the natives look upon a European Jew as a sort of heathen of Jewish descent.

England, for over two centuries the haven of refuge for per-

[9] Leviticus Rabbah, Ch. 13.

secuted Jews, seems to be on the eve of changing its traditional policy of hospitality to the oppressed. The Alien Immigration Commission which has been in session in 1902 has finished its labors and has handed its report to the Home Secretary, August 11. The parliamentary debates now in progress hardly leave any doubt but that some restrictive measures against immigration will be passed, and that they are aimed against Russian Jews. Difficulties are also encountered by Jewish immigrants in the colonies of South Africa where new laws of a restrictive nature have been passed, and even those who had left Europe before the passage of the new laws, arriving in Capetown after their enactment, were refused landing, February 2. In this connection the generous offer by the British government of a large territory to Jewish colonists in Central Africa has to be mentioned. The Zionist congress, held in Basle, August 23-30, was startled by the offer of Uganda. The offer created quite a stir. While a majority adopted it, and while the minority accepted the decision, a strong opposition arose later on, chiefly under the leadership of Engineer Ussischkin, and a conference of Russian Zionists, held in Charkov, protested against the proposed Uganda colony as a sort of treachery to the Zionist cause. Meantime a compromise seems to have been reached at the meeting of the Greater Actions Committee in Vienna, and the question will be studied. There have been already within that territory strong voices of protest against the settlement of Jews who would make of it a "Jewganda," and even if adopted, it remains to be seen whether the success of this scheme will be any greater than that of Argentine, especially when the settlers go there with the conviction that their new home is merely a night's lodging and a way station on the march to Palestine, as one of the leaders had said in Basle. At all events it is a pity that the Jewish Colonization Association should have refused to co-operate with the Zionists in the consideration of the British government's offer and declined to enter into any consideration of Herzl's request to assist in defraying the cost of a commission to be sent to Africa.

The anti-semitic agitation in Germany seems to be waning, which, however, does not mean that the political condition of the Jews has in any way been improved. The elections to the Reichstag, held June 16, brought victory to only one anti-semitic candidate; the by-elections which decide the contest between the two candidates who received the highest vote, if none received the majority of all votes cast, took place June 26. It resulted in the return of eight additional delegates, who thus form an anti-semitic party of nine members, split into two factions. Thus their number is by no means formidable, although they have received two additional mandates in special elections held since. On the other hand, there are different factors which have to be considered. A number of members, belonging to other parties, are in sympathy with the anti-semites, and even the liberals, pressed to the wall by the growing power of the socialists, are unwilling as a rule to expose themselves in advocating the cause of the Jews. Anti-semitic in their sympathies are also the clericals, although they are careful not to show it. In Hochfelden, Alsace, excesses were committed against the Jews, June 28, because they were considered to be the cause of the defeat of the clerical candidate. The King of Saxony even went so far as to congratulate Mr. Graefe, the anti-semitic delegate for Bautzen-Kamenz upon his victory. This congratulation was, of course, meant more for the victory over the socialist, but it remains a fact that His Majesty will rather have an anti-semite than a socialist.

The heir-presumptive to the diminutive throne of Schwarzburg called on Mr. Graefe to express to him his gratification at the victory of the national cause. Various interesting lessons are to be learned from this little incident. The principality of Schwarzburg was one of those where the Jews were "civilized" by a paternal government. It appointed for them a Land-rabbiner, the venerable Philip Heidenheim, who will complete his ninetieth year June 14, and who holds the record for the longest term of office in any community, having preached his sixty-seventh Pesach sermon on Passover last. The same government recommended to

its beloved Jewish subjects the subscription to the Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums, when it first appeared in 1837, but still its next ruler, although all his Jewish subjects know how to read German now, and have stopped peddling, descends from his prospective throne to call on an humble Herr Graefe, because the latter as anti-semite will save the fatherland.

Sadly interesting is the fact that to Mr. Graefe's district belongs the city of Kamenz, where one hundred and seventy-five years ago Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, the author of "Nathan der Weise," was born. The citizens of Kamenz have not done great honor to their famous countryman.

Elections to the Prussian diet, held November 19, resulted in the return of two anti-semites and seven Jews, the latter not known to be anti-semites, a statement which, as will be seen later, is not entirely superfluous. This difference, so much the more astonishing, when we learn that in the Reichstag outside of the socialistic party no Jewish candidate is elected, becomes clear when we remember that the mode of election is entirely different, as in the Prussian diet the middle classes possess the franchise exclusively, and the Jews naturally are there a considerable factor, willing to support the candidate of the liberals without demanding any service in return. How far the Jews will go in their self-abnegation may be proven from the fact that in Schlochau three Jews with the local "Prediger" at the head came out in favor of the anti-semitic candidate Boeckler, editor of the anti-semitic paper "Staatsbuergerzeitung," who had been sentenced to one year in jail for libeling the authorities, as shielding the Jews in the ritual murder trial of Konitz. This was supposed to demonstrate the unselfish patriotism of the Jews who would rather see an anti-semite than a socialist elected. Similarly, Mr. Wolfskehl of Darmstadt came out in support of the anti-semitic candidate, although his liberal friends had kicked him out of the diet of Hesse of which he had been a member in order to oblige their anti-semitically inclined followers.

The actions of the authorities are in no wise more favorable

to the Jews than that of the political parties. It is an open secret that a Jew cannot be appointed officer in the German army, with the exception of the Bavarian contingent. Graduates of higher institutions have a right to serve only one year instead of two and after the completion of their term of service they are, if capable, promoted to the rank of officers in the reserve. To Jews this distinction is denied. An especially interesting fact was publicly discussed through the publication of a letter addressed to the Kaiser by the Breslau attorney Justizrath Feige, October 10. Mr. Feige's son had served as volunteer and had been refused admission to the officers' examination. His father, who had served in the Franco-Prussian war and had been promoted to the rank of lieutenant, which even then was a very rare distinction for a Jew, wrote to the Kaiser complaining that as far as Jews are concerned the equality of all citizens before the law is a dead letter. The emperor's Kabinetskanzlei (office of private secretary) replied that young Mr. Feige was dealt with according to his merit, whereupon Mr. Feige justly called attention to the fact that, although Jews furnish a large percentage to the volunteers, none of them is appointed officer in the reserve. Once in a while an officer will let the cat out of the bag. So it happened to a young man named Hauptmann in Breslau who wanted to enter as volunteer for two years. While in such a case the volunteer has to serve the same length of time as the regularly conscripted men, he has the advantage of finishing his term of service sooner. Decision in such a case rests with the captain of the company into which the volunteer wishes to enter. The captain received Mr. Hauptmann very cordially, but a few days later he received notice that Jewish volunteers are not wanted, and that the promise was made before he knew that the applicant was a Jew. The matter was brought to the notice of the authorities who regretted the form in which the refusal had been expressed, but the fact itself was not remedied. The practical exclusion of Jews from public offices was discussed in the Prussian diet March 9. The liberals condemned this policy, the minister of course denied any knowledge of it, while the conservatives insisted on

the theory of the Christian state, an idea first advocated by the convert Friedrich Julius Stahl. This time it was another convert, Professor Friedberg, who ridiculed this idea, but the fact that he is a convert to Christianity shows that he knows well enough that the idea of the state as strictly secular is a mere theory. In Bavaria, where the clericals form the majority, the minister declared himself openly against the appointment of Jews as teachers, and the protest of the council of Nurenberg had no result, February 17.

The saddest result of the anti-semitic agitation was the cruel murder of Abraham Levi, a Polish typesetter in Stegers, a village of West Prussia, September 28. The facts of this case have never been fully made clear. Stegers is in the neighborhood of Konitz, where the murder of the high school boy Ernst Winter, March 11, 1900, has created an excitement which is not over yet. Levi who came to the village inn was teased by the people present, who asked him whether he had come for the sake of obtaining Christian blood. He is said to have answered with a remark insulting the Christian religion. The real facts cannot be ascertained, for Levi was so mercilessly beaten that next morning he was found dead, and the murderers naturally had to make an attempt to excuse their brutality. It shows a disheartening condition of public morality that one of the murderers escaped punishment, while the other was sentenced to one year in jail. One year in jail for killing a man! while Moritz Lewy was sentenced to four years in the penitentiary for a supposed perjury which, if he had been guilty of it, could not have been intended to harm anybody, nor could any harm arise from it. Moritz Lewy had out of anti-semitic motives been suspected of the murder, but he succeeded in proving an alibi which was beyond question. During his trial, however, he had sworn that he never knew Winter, while several persons testified that they had seen them together, which he admitted as possible, saying that he might have talked to him occasionally without knowing him by name. In spite of the probability of this statement and in spite of the fact that the only motive for such

a perjury, if he should have committed it, could have been the fear of implicating himself by such an admission, Lewy was sentenced to four years in the penitentiary, and was only pardoned October 11, after having served half of his time. Of late the authorities have been a little more rigorous in the prosecution of anti-semitic excesses, and for such a libel Paul Koch was sent to jail for six months, January 31, while Count Pueckler, who constantly delivers the wildest harangues against the Jews, was merely fined 450 Marks for saying that the Jews had hired an assassin to poison him, when he was touring in Switzerland, January 7. The Count, who openly preaches violence and murder against the Jews, and among other things recently advised the German soldiers to shoot their Jewish officers, if ever such should be appointed, is decidedly insane; but the people will have it that the treatment of a count is different from that of any ordinary mortal. An illustration of this fact is the punishment of editor Wittenberg, who was sent to jail for three months, October 8, because he called Pastor Kroesell a hog-priest, although he actually could prove that Pastor Kroesell lived in concubinage with his housekeeper and was otherwise an immoral character. This pastor, who has meantime been discharged from the ministry because of his immoral conduct, is a classical type of the advantages which anti-semitism offers to Catilinarian existences, an experience which the Talmud[10] puts into the mouth of the arch-anti-semite Titus. The affair of Konitz suggested to him the idea of lecturing on the Talmud and on the depravity of the Jews, and today he is a member of the Reichstag. The ecclesiastic authorities should remember that such men cannot possibly advance the interests of the mission to the Jews, and that of them the words of Luther with regard to the Papists will hold good, that had he been born a Jew and had seen how some of these Christians act, he would rather have turned a hog than a Christian.[11]

And indeed has the General Synod of the Protestant Church

[10] Gittin 56, b.
[11] Graetz, Gesch. ix, 197, 3d ed.

in Prussia issued a circular to the consistories to be careful with regard to the conversion of the Jews; the reason however is somewhat different. Professor Ladenburg in Breslau, a chemist, had said in a lecture that his laboratory furnished him no evidence of the existence of a soul. Ladenburg, the son of one of the most active workers for the cause of emancipation, the Oberrath Leopold Ladenburg of Mannheim, is a convert to Christianity. The synod of which Stoecker is one of the leading members naturally does not think that Haeckel and Buechner were born Christians, and that David Friedrich Strauss was even a Protestant theologian. Every evil must come from Judaism, and so the Protestant Church will be protected against infidels, if she will be more careful with the conversion of Jews. Another infidel is not only a born Christian and the son of the leading "positive theologian," but even, as it seems a mild sort of anti-semite. Friedrich Delitzsch delivered a new address on his favorite topic "Babel and Bible" in the presence of the Emperor and the Empress, January 12. His expressions were somewhat stronger than on former occasions. He spoke of the God of the Old Testament as eating veal cutlets, and said that he had not found much monotheism in the Hebrew Bible. A case like this could not be remedied by a circular addressed to the consistories, and some "positive" Christians complained that the emperor encouraged infidelity. His Majesty found it necessary to write a long theological letter to Admiral Hollmann, January 15, in which he said that Delitzsch was not so bad, and his views could be heard by any Christian with impunity, "although some of the halo of the chosen people would disappear" owing to his discoveries. So it seems after all that the chief object of the famous Assyriologist and the reason for the emperor's interest in Assyriology are to be found in the desire to make the semitic tinge of the Teutonic race disappear.

A decadent community has always been hostile to Israel, as we can see from the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. The brutality of the weak, unable to crush its powerful enemies, seeks its victims among the weaker. This experience is demonstrated again in the

case of Austria. There anti-semitism shows itself in two different characteristics. In the civilized west of the empire the mob satisfies its brutality in speeches, while in the half-Asiatic east the old fashion of bloodshed and destruction of property is resorted to. Burgomaster Lueger of Vienna, who has been re-elected at every term since 1896, said at his last inauguration, April 16, that peace reigned in the city, but this peace is the peace of merciless boycott against the Jewish citizens of the Austrian capital numbering about 150,000. How far this boycott goes is evident from an interpellation addressed in the Reichsrath to the minister of education von Hartel, why the Jewish playwright Arthur Schnitzler was given the Bauernfeld prize. Von Hartel had the courage to answer that such prizes are given for literary merit. More in line with time-honored traditions is anti-semitism in Galicia, that part of Poland which was annexed to Austria. In Zablotow the Jews were mobbed September 11; a number of them were seriously wounded and a great deal of property was destroyed. The mob leaders, among whom was a revenue officer, received ridiculously mild sentences, and the case against the revenue officer who led the charge in his uniform, with his drawn sword in his hands was even dismissed. The oligarchy of Polish noblemen who actually control the government has, however, more modern and effective means at its command, and so they passed a strict Sunday law which means economic ruin to the great mass of observant Jews in the province. A committee of Galician Jews who waited upon the prime minister, requesting him to make an exception in favor of those Jews who observe Sabbath, March 22, had no success. A similar legal measure was enacted in Hungary, where anti-semitism is latent. The minister of finance decreed, April 5, that tobacco dealers who are under his jurisdiction, as tobacco is a government's monopoly, have to keep their entire shops open on Sabbath, while formerly they had been permitted to sell tobacco through a window, handing this business over to a Christian for the day, while their store remained closed. Small as this matter is, it shows the tendency of the government which was still more manifest in the

debates in the diet on the immigration of Jews which is especially large in the northern district, bordering on the overpopulated Galicia, where the condition of the Jews is incredibly pitiful.

Having overstepped already the limits of space which was accorded to me, I can only briefly refer to the internal condition of Judaism. To us the most prominent facts in this respect are the opening of the new building of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in New York, April 26, and the inauguration of Dr. Kohler as president of the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, October 18. Both institutions are splendidly endowed, compared with the conditions of the older European seminaries. New York has half a million of dollars and a splendid modern building, while Cincinnati has nearly $400,000. Still, when I mention this fact at the end of my sketch I do it in a sense entirely different from the motives which actuated my revered teacher Graetz. I feel that "Jewish Science" occupies the last place in the range of Jewish communal activities and aspirations. While the whole country has in about thirty years created two institutions, the city of New York alone has succeeded in raising the enormous sum of $2,500,000 for the splendid Mount Sinai Hospital, Chicago will shortly raise $800,000 for a new hospital building, and Cincinnati will spend $100,000 for hospital improvements. Baroness Julie Cohn-Oppenheim, the daughter of Baron Moritz Cohn, the banker of old Kaiser Wilhelm, left upon her death, January 5, 3,000,000 of marks each to the city and the Jewish congregation of Dessau. We therefore have to admit that the liberality manifested in the erection and the endowment of the two Jewish institutions of learning in America is less due to an interest in the cause of "Jewish Science" than to the proverbial generosity of the Jews of whom the Talmud[12] says: You can never fathom the character of this nation; they are asked to give for the golden calf and they give, they are asked to give for the tabernacle and they give too. It would be unjustified optimism to see in it a genuine enthusiasm

[12] Yerushalmi Shekalim, I, 1, fol. 45, d.

for the spiritual cause of Judaism. The best proof for this fact is that the theological students mostly come from the ranks of the poor, and what is more significant, from the families of Polish and Russian immigrants. Both are in themselves no misfortune. "Take care of the children of the poor, says already the Talmud[13] for from them shall go forth the law," and students from Polish orthodox families bring into their academic study the advantage of an acquaintance with the practical law, and consequently a good Hebrew vocabulary. On the other hand, it is highly significant that our congregations with magnificent temple structures, while they furnish the funds for theological instruction, are unable to furnish the necessary material of students, and even if the king of Sodom said it, it would have been Abraham's policy under the same condition: Give me the persons and the goods keep for thyself.[14] Still it has to be gratefully acknowledged that some of our wealthy brethren are willing to support the cause, which, after all, is the only safeguard of Israel's existence. We feel it so much the more keenly when we consider how great our losses are in the rank of our wealthiest coreligionists. A typical case was that of Lord Pirbright, formerly Baron de Worms (died January 9), the grandson of the Frankfort "Schutzjude" Benedict Worms and the great-grandson of Mayer Amschel Rothschild, who surprised the world by his request to be buried in a Christian cemetery. Perhaps this distribution of means on one side and men on the other is a typically Jewish condition. The power was given to Moses, say the rabbis,[15] and the honor to Joshua, for if both had been given to Joshua the equilibrium of society would have been disturbed.

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[13] Nedarim, 81, a.

[14] Gen. xiv, 21.

[15] Sifre ad Deut. xxxiii, 17, ed. Friedmann, p. 146, b.

AL-KINDI.

"The Philosopher of the Arabs"

BY HENRY MALTER.

I

General Remarks.

THE epithet philosopher does not adequately describe the Arabic thinkers, for in the restricted meaning which the word has for us it no longer connotes the character and extent of his activity. Arabic philosophers, like their Greek prototypes, embraced within their sphere the entire range of investigation and speculation, their realm included all that we today class under science, as well as under philosophy. Nevertheless the term philosopher is justified, for in all their intellectual pursuits the abstract, metaphysical side is in the fore front. In accordance with the taste of the time medicine, astronomy, mathematics, history, physics, and all the sciences are permeated by speculative notions; everything is viewed from a philosophic standpoint and with a metaphysical interest, often in disregard of the facts. The work of these philosophers, however, exerted a wide-reaching influence. They were not, indeed, originators of a new and complete system in science or philosophy; the system of Aristotle, as modified by the Neo-Platonists was supreme in its sway, and the Arabs could no more free themselves from its domination than the rest of the medieval world, and although at times they struggled against it, where it antagonized their religious conceptions, on the whole, as Mohammed was to them the "seal of the Prophets," so Aristotle

was the "seal of the Philosophers."[1] And yet they enriched extensively every branch of thought, to which they gave their attention and their service in the development of a number of sciences is very significant. Above all they furnished a powerful stimulus to intellectual life among the nations of both the Orient and Occident. In addition to their original contribution, they, in their activity as translators, restored to Europe the works of the most prominent Greek thinkers. Their translations of Plato, Aristotle, Euclid, Galen and many others formed the basis of the Hebrew and Latin translations, and were almost the sole source for the knowledge of Greek literature in the Middle Ages.

But great as the Arabic influence was on the development of science and philosophy in Christian Europe, its effect on the intellectual activity of the Jews was incomparably greater. One hesitates to venture the assertion, that were it not for the philosophic movement among the Arabs, there would have been in Hebrew no philosophic and no scientific works, and Hebrew literature would have been exclusively Halachic and Midrashic in character,—and yet when the entire bulk of Hebrew literature, both printed and still in manuscript, is reviewed, considerable justification appears for even so extreme an opinion. All the philosophers and grammarians from Saadia on were immersed in Arabic literature, and the best of their works were written in the Arabic language. All the Hebrew books we possess, that deal with scientific matters,—astronomy, medicine, mathematics, grammar, logic, philosophy, and even most of the philosophic commentaries to the Bible are either translated from the Arabic, or written by those, whose spiritual nurture had been drawn either immediately or mediately from Arabic culture. All the Hebrew poets found their models for forms and meters in Arabic poetry.[2] In all

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[1] אלחכמאי כאתמה Al-Kifti (s. below, p. 61, note 2) p. 28, l. 2; cf. Steinschneider, Al-Farabi, St. Petersburg, 1869, p. 187.

[2] For a detailed study of Arabic influence on Hebrew poetry, see Goldziher, J. Q. R. XIV, p. 719-36. Also Steinschneider J. Q. R. XII, p. 607 ff., and Die Arab. Lit. der Juden (Frankf. a. M. 1901), p. XXXVII.

this varied literature the terminology is borrowed from the Arabic. Similarly the greater part of Karaitic literature is written in Arabic (Steinschneider, Arab. Lit., p. XXII) and the remainder is written in a Hebrew which imitates the style and structure of the Arabic so closely, that it is unintelligible without a knowledge of the latter and often leaves us in doubt as to whether Hebrew or Arabic was the original language.[1] And even the Kabbala did not escape the wide influence of Arabic philosophy. The early Kabbala was Aggadic and Midrashic in character. This grew by accretion of myths having their origin in popular imagination and of ideas derived from Parsees, Gnostics, and the Philonic philosophy. Between these heterogeneous elements there was no connection, and they could never be combined into an orderly system. But when the Arabic philosophy was introduced among the Jews, and especially the Peripatetic philosophy with its Neo-Platonic doctrine of emanation, the Kabbala was deeply affected, and under its moulding power began to develop as a *speculative* system, although it never succeeded in this direction, for system was contrary to its very nature, since, like the Haggadah from which it sprang, it sought to satisfy the cravings of the heart and not the demands of the intellect. The chief ideas which the Peripatetics took from the Neo-Platonists penetrated into the speculative Kabbala, the Kabbalists merely cloaked them with a new terminology. The doctrines of the Arabic mystics, the *Sûfis,* exerted even a greater influence on the Kabbala, and especially on the *practical* Kabbala, which was based altogether on astrology and magic—arts extensively cultivated by the Arabs.

Greater even is the Arabic influence, which appears so pervasive in the *content* of this literature, on its literary *form.* The Hebrew,

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According to some (Capellus and later Hupfeld against Ewald) even Hebrew vocalization came into existence through Arabic; cf. Pinsker Einleitung, etc., wien 1863, p. XV. f.

[1] For this we have the testimony of the Karaite, Elijah Bashiatshi (d. 1490), in the following passage (quoted by P. Frankel, in Beiträge zur Literaturgesch. der Karäer, published in Fünfter Bericht über die L. f. d. W. d. J., Berlin, 1887, p. 11) ולהיות שחברו ספריהם בלשון

in which all except Halachic[1] and Kabbalistic books are written, from the time Arabic culture makes itself felt, we may, without fear of exaggeration term a "new creation,"—I refer to the "language of the translators" ("שפת המעתיקים"). We need only compare the style of the books written after the close of the Talmud, such as Sepher Yesira or the Josippon, with the style of Emunoth ve-Deoth and the works that follow it to realize the vast transformation which the language had undergone. The idiom employed by the translators is to be regarded as almost a language in itself,[2] for it was used not only by the translators who worked under the domination of the Arabic, but also by many authors of the following generations, who, whether they knew Arabic or not, wrote their works in this Arabic Hebrew; so for example, Chisdai Crescas, (Or Adonai) Joseph Albo (Ikkarim) and others. Indeed up to our own time this was the language of philosophic literature, (e. g. the works of Solomon Maimon and Nachman Krochmal) in spite of the opposition it met with from such purists as Luzzatto.

II.

The philosophic movement, whose consequences for Hebrew literature have been so far reaching, centered in the activity of

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הערב והעתקתם בלה"ק לא יערב מפני קוצר ידיעת המעתיק הראשון בחכמת הלשון לכן מאמריהם נראים בעיני הרואים בלי סדד והבנה ובלי יסוד ופנה See, also. Steinschneider, Arab. Lit. p. XLII, note 1.

[1] Halachic literature did not remain uninfluenced by Arabic. Some of the Geonim (notably Saadia, Nissim, and Hai), Alfasi and Maimonides, among many others, wrote both responsa and Talmudic commentaries in Arabic. Arabisms crept even into the Hebrew of Halachic works. Cf. Steinschneider, Introd. to Arab Lit. of the Jews, J. Q. R. XIII, 455, and Arab. Lit. pp. XXIV, XXIX, and XLI.

[2] Arabic influenced so profoundly both the syntax and vocabularly of philosophic Hebrew, that the latter is often unintelligible without a knowledge of Arabic. The need that was early felt for special glossaries in this literature (e. g. Samuel Ibn Tibbon's glossary to the Moreh), is proof of this.

a few individuals, whose achievements formed the basis of intellectual development among the Arabs,—the so-called "seven-fold constellation" of Arabic philosophers. To the first of these, Abu Yûsuf Ya'kûb b. Ishak Al-Kindî, we devote the following sketch of his life and work, adding thereto an indication of the few traces of him that remain in Hebrew literature.

1. His Life. Among the Arabic writers who mention Al-Kindi in praise, or blame, there is no one who reports the year of his birth or of his death, although the Arabs lay great stress on such biographical details. From incidental remarks found in them it is, however, certain that he lived in the ninth century, probably from 813 to 873. He was a member of the ruling family of the tribe Kinda (מלון אלכנדה), at that time one of the most prominent among the Arabs, and Arabic writers enumerate a long line of thirty-six ancestors who successively ruled over their own tribe, and at times in the pre-Islamitic period, also over other tribes. From some of the Arabic authors, who call him Al-Basri[1] (the Basrite) it appears that he was born in the city Basra. Of further biographical details we know only that he left Basra to continue his studies in Bagdad. His teachers there are unknown. It is certain, however, that in Bagdad he met Christian scholars who were engaged in the translation of Greek works, and from them he learned Greek. He joined them in their activity, but soon surpassed his teachers. He became the foremost commentator on Aristotle, and the founder of science and philosophy among the Arabs (Munk Mélanges, p. 340; Steinschneider Al-Farabi, p. 7).

2. His Relations to Islam and his contemporaries. If we examine the long list of works that Al-Kindi wrote, we can not conclude with certainty that he was a Mohammedan. The titles alone do not indicate that he dealt with strictly Mohammedan theological doctrines, or with questions centering about the Koran, —problems that busied all Arabic writers. He would seem, there-

[1] Ibn Joljol, in Al-Kifti, p. 368, l. 7: כאן שריף אלאצל בצריא.

fore, to have freed himself largely from theological interests and to have devoted himself primarily to scientific investigations. This religious indifference on his part, according to Flügel[1] (p. 14), accounts for his strange neglect by Arabic biographers, although they reported minutely the life and work of authors of far inferior merit, and for the spirit of enmity and prejudice that breathes in the few records of him that have come down to us. The persecution to which he was subjected in his life-time also springs, according to the same author, from this cause, although it was intensified by the jealousy of contemporaries on account of his general fame, and his favor at the court of the Khalifs. The Arabic astronomer, Abu Ja'far (d. 945, cf. Steinschneider Hebr. Übers. p. 528) reports in the name of the mathematician, Abu Kamil Shoja' ben Aslam (900-950, ibid. p. 584) that two brothers, prominent Arabic mathematicians,[2] slandered Al-Kindi to the Khalif Mutawakkil and roused him to such a pitch of anger that he ordered the philosopher to be flogged (according to another reading to be denied admittance to the court) and his library, later called the Al-Kindi Library (אלכזאנה אלכנדיה) to be confiscated and bestowed upon the slanderers. The Khalif, however, later returned the library to Al-Kindi (Flügel p. 16).

One of his bitterest enemies was Abu Ma'shar (d. 886) who, it is reported, in his hatred to Al-Kindi on account of his philosophical doctrines, left his native city, and came to Bagdad for the purpose of stirring up the fanaticism of the populace against

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[1] In his well-known biography, "Al-Kindi" (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, I, Leipzig, 1857). To this book we will have occasion to refer very frequently.

[2] These two brothers, Ahmed and Muhammed, and a third, Al-Hasan, are known as the Banû Shâkir. They are prominent as mathematicians and inventors of mechanical instruments. Maimonides quotes their ספר התחבולות (כתאב אלחיל) in his Moreh I, 73 (end of third proposition). Cf. Munk Guide I, p. 385, note 1, and Steinschneider, Die Söhne des Musa b. Shakir, Berlin, 1887. Flügel mentions the astronomer Sind b. Ali, a converted Jew, as accomplice in the conspiracy, but this has been disproved by Steinschneider. Cf. Arab. Lit. p. 35, note 3; also, Hebr. Uebers pp. 533 and 567.

the philosopher.[1] As an illustration of the popular hostility against him on account of his supposed heterodoxy, we are told by Al-Kifti (p. 376 f.)[2] that a rich Arabian merchant, whose son was dangerously sick, could scarcely be induced to call in Al-Kindi, even when all other doctors had failed to cure him, although Al-Kindi lived nearby and was reputed to be the greatest physician of his age. But in spite of the efforts of rivals to belittle him, and in spite of the hatred and persecution of fanatics, Al-Kindi found favor at the court of the Khalifs. They befriended him and listened to his instruction. Al Ma'mun (813-833) Mu'tasim (833-842) and Mutawakkil (842-861), are especially mentioned as his patrons; the son of Mu'tasim, for whom he wrote a number of his books (see Flügel's list Nos. 36, 61, 235), was his disciple. Outside of the court, too, Al-Kindi found admirers who appreciated his learning and defended him against unfounded accusations. To

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[1] Abu Ma'shar, represented as at this time a fanatic theologian, later became a disciple of Al-Kindi, and one of his greatest admirers (see p. 65). It is reported by d'Herbelot (Bibl. Orientale Hague, 1777-8, vol. II, p. 278 ff.), that Abu Ma'shar planned to make an attempt on the life of Al-Kindi, because the philosopher had humiliated his teacher in a disputation before Al-Ma'mûn. He was frustrated in this plan by the vigilance of Al-Kindi. Attracted by the latter's fame he became his disciple. Abu Ma'shar is reported to have lived a hundred years. He is famous in Arabic and especially in medieval Latin literature, as astronomer and astrologer. Some of his works were translated into Hebrew, and used by Abraham b. Hiyya. He has been charged with plagiarizing Sind b. Ali (cf. Steinschneider Hebr. Uebers. p. 566 ff.). Otto Loth (Morgenl. Forsch., Leipzig, 1875, p. 265, 271 ff.) proves that he altered works of Al-Kindi and claimed them as his own. See, also, Z. D. M. G. XXIV, p. 388 (end of the Latin quotation).

[2] Ta'rih Al-Hukama'—a biobibliographical dictionary—recently edited by Julius Lippert (Berlin, 1903). The original is unknown, and we possess it in an abridgment made, 1249, by Al-Zauzani. This work is most valuable as a source for Arabic literature. Al-Kifti (d. 1248) was an intimate friend of Joseph Ibn Aknin (d. 1226), the well-known disciple of Maimonides for whom he wrote the Moreh, and he devotes to Ibn Aknin an affectionate chapter (p. 392 ff, see also Lippert's Introd. p. 9).

these we owe the few facts that we have concerning the life of Al-Kindi, and an enumeration of his works with some description of their nature.

3. His Literary Activity. Of the vast number of works written by Al-Kindi only the fewest survive in Arabic, and a few more in Latin and Hebrew translations, and not all of these have as yet been published. Nevertheless it is certain that he was a very prolific writer; Flügel, following the Arabic bibliographers, enumerating two hundred and sixty-five works. These are of two classes, original works and translations from Greek authors or commentaries on them. Arabic writers have early divided his works according to their subject-matter, into seventeen groups, but their classification is not always consistent.[1] It would be useless to name all of his books here, the mere mention of the branches of thought with which they deal, and of some of the specific themes to which treatises are devoted, will enable us to realize in a general way the nature of the problems that occupied Al-Kindi and the extent of his intellectual activity. Philosophy, logic, psychology, politics (including ethics), music, medicine, geometry, astronomy, meteorology, and astrology are some of the fields in which he was active.

From the scant remains of Al-Kindi's works it is impossible to restore his philosophy.[2] All that can be done on the basis of the existing material is to indicate the general character of his speculative thought. It appears that his principle, like that of many philosophers before and after him, was to solve all questions —even those of medicine (not "philosophy," as Flügel, p. 8, has it),[3]

[1] Cf. Dieterici, die Philosophie der Araber (Leipzig, 1876), I, p. 154, and Steinsch. Al-Farabi, p. 7, note 12.

[2] The philosophic works of Al-Kindi were regarded as altogether lost until Albino Nagy published a Latin translation of some of them (Beiträge zur Gesch. der Philosophie des Mittelalters, Bäumker und Hertling, Münster, 1897). On the basis of these treatises Carra de Vaux (Avicenne, Paris, 1900, p. 80-87) presents a sketch of Al-Kindi's philosophy.

[3] See Al-Farabi, p. 150.

—by mathematical proof. He was averse to sophistry, and attacked the sophists in one of his works (Flügel's list n. 30). In his polemical treatises against the Dualists, Manicheans and other heretics, he defends the unity of God, the *prima causa efficiens*. Like the Arabic peripatetics in general he denies all positive attributes to God (Munk, Mélanges, etc., 341). He opposed the Atomists and taught the doctrine of free-will. In his psychological works he treats of the nature of the soul and its pre-existence (n. 184), the nature of the human intellect (n. 200) and even the phenomena of sleep and dreams (n. 188).[1] As in his polemical works, so in his writings on politics, Al-Kindi, like the Arabic philosophers in general, discussed philosophical and ethical problems,[2] dealing with such themes as the means for the attainment of happiness and of perfection (s. ns. 190, 191, 193, 200).

In his meteorological works he is concerned with the origin and disappearance of all existence, expounds the Aristotelian doctrine of the four elements (fire, air, water and earth) and their mutual transformation under the influence of the motion of the spheres. He investigates the causes for climatic changes, for eclipses, the nature of comets, of light and fog. His geometrical writings do not restrict themselves to an exposition of Euclid, but enlarge the science extensively. Al-Kindi invented new apparatus for the measurement of celestial and terrestrial distances, and in his works, passes from geometry into the field of geography and topography, making considerable additions to both. Music, too, claimed Al-Kindi's attention, both as a science and an art. He was himself a composer and had many disciples in music.[3] In

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[1] The last two (de Intellectu, and de Somno et Visione), are among the treatises edited by Albino Nagy. Number 200 in Flügel's list is a duplicate of number 22. Cf. Nagy p. V, note 2.

[2] Jewish writers similarly treated ethics under politics. Cf. Guttmann, Gabirol, p. 19.

[3] Al-Kifti (p. 377) relates that by means of music, which Al-Kindi's disciples played by his direction, he restored an apoplectic, the son of the merchant mentioned before (p. 7), to the full use of

all his investigations Al-Kindi, like the other Arabic thinkers, brings in his philosophy, and, therefore, even his medicine, arithmetic, spherical geometry, and especially his astronomy and astrology are interspersed with metaphysics.

Al-Kindi's fame among medieval writers did not, however, rest so much upon his philosophic and scientific achievements as upon his activity in astrology. We can not wonder at such a phenomenon in an age which looked upon astrology as a most important science, and cultivated astronomy chiefly in its interests. Al-Kindi gave astrology a scientific garb, treating it by a "mathematical method, and bringing its supposed phenomena under a pretense of physical laws" (Loth, l. c. p. 264). Basing on Greek sources, he combined with them also the results of Indian and Persian astrology. He marks the culmination of Arabic astrology; the Arabs in his time, and, according to Flügel (p. 12), even today considering him their greatest astrologer.

Under his miscellaneous writings, the Arabs have enumerated thirty-six treatises, dealing with as many distinct and independent topics of both theoretical and practical interest. Jewels,[1] paints and colors, the various species of bees and their characteristics, the manufacture of swords, the training of carrier-pigeons, the ebb and flow of the tides, the art of swimming, the fallacy of alchemy, jugglery, earthquakes, and even cookery, receive among other themes, his attention,—a proof of his wonderful versatility and his acquaintance with the greatest variety of human interests.

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his powers for a time (not completely, as Flügel, p. 17, has it.) A manuscript of one of Al-Kindi's treatises on music exists in the Royal Library at Berlin (see Steinsch. Al-Farabi, p. 82).

[1] On this subject the Arabs and especially the medieval Christians created a large literature, beginning with a forged book of the seventh century, ascribed to Aristotle. The Jews, too, busied themselves with the same topic, notably Berachia Hanakdan, and connected it with the stones on the breast plate of the high-priest. See Steinschneider, Hebr. Uebers. §§ 125 and 572, and p. 963, also his article, Lapidarien, Z. D. M. G., vol. XLIX, and my Hebrew edition of "Jewish Literature," p. 308.

The second main division of Al-Kindi's works, his translations and commentaries are spoken of with praise by Arabic writers. He is counted by Abu Ma'shar, whom we have mentioned before among the greatest translators of Greek writers, and his translations,—among them are the works of Plato, Aristotle, Euclid, Hippocrates and Ptolemy,—are reported to have reproduced the thought accurately without being literal. In the opinion of modern scholars he is the first Arab to translate Greek works.[1] In his commentaries to Aristotle he is said to show independence, and at times even opposes the views of Aristotle. (Schmoelders, Essai sur les écoles philosophique chez les Arabes, Paris, 1842, p. 130).

Why so few of the numerous works of Al-Kindi have come down to us has been a matter of speculation to scholars. According to Munk (l. c. p. 341) his writings have been lost, because they were eclipsed by the works of his successor, Al-Farabi, (870-950), the second of the Arabic philosophers. Steinschneider (Al-Farabi, p. 8, [cf. also p. 108 and Nagy l. c. p. XI.]) is not altogether satisfied with this view, since all is based merely on hypotheses. Flügel (p. 14) finds the reason for the disappearance of his works in the hatred of contemporaries and later generations against Al-Kindi, whom they regarded as a heretic. Be that as it may, the loss for the history of the development of science and philosophy in the Middle Ages is very great. His name, however, remains to mark the introduction of Greek philosophy and science among the Arabs and through them its restoration to Europe.[2]

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[1] Steinschneider (Al-Farabi, p. 7, note 11) and Loth (l. c., p, 264, note 6) doubt whether Al-Kindi himself translated from Greek. They regard him as an editor and commentator, rather than a translator. Such is also the opinion of Carra de Vaux (l. c., p. 92).

[2] Al-Kindi's personal influence seems to have been very great. This appears both from his relations to the court of the Caliphs, and from the fact that he had numerous disciples, and was called upon frequently to answer scientific questions (see Flügel's list, Nos. 16, 24, to Al Ma'mun, 68, 256, 257). Of his many disciples some are

4. Opinions on Al-Kindi. We have pointed out above Al-Kindi's relations to his contemporaries. We add here some of the views concerning him held in later times, as they found expression in the writings of Arabs and Christians. In Arabic literature Al-Kindi is styled "the philosopher of the Arabs" (פילסוף אלערב). This title, which to us connotes the highest praise, is, however, by the orthodox Arabs, in their antagonism to philosophers, applied to Al-Kindi in disparagement.[1] The famous biographer, An-Nadim (tenth century), author of the Fihrist,[2] classes him along with the Greek physicists (Theon and Ariston). This, too, is but scant praise, for the physicists were at this time held in contempt (Flügel , p. 17). Another writer, Abu'l-Kasim Sa'id b. Sa'id, Kadi of Toledo,[3] (d. 1070) condemns Al-Kindi's unscientific method, and blames him for neglecting analysis,—according to Abu'l-Kasim, the only mode of arriving at truth,—and for stating his pernicious doctrines dogmatically; and Al-Kifti, two centuries later, repeats (p. 369 above) this censure in his chapter on our philosopher. Ibn Roshd (Averroes), the most original of the Arabic philosophers (d. 1198), criticises Al-Kindi for his mathematical method in medicine, and says that he found

known to have attained to prominence—among them Ahmed b. At-Tayyib As-Sarachsi (see the chapter on him in Al-Kifti, p. 77, who enumerates his works. Cf. also Carra de Vaux, l. c. p. 87); Abu Zeid Al-Balchî (whose life and works are treated by Carra de Vaux, ib. pp. 87-91); Ahmed At-Tabari (Nagy l. c. p. X), Habib b. Bahriz (Steinschneider Hebr. Uebers., p. 518, note 131), and Sulaiman Rabi'u Ibn Yahya (ib. p. 517 f.; see, also, below p. 71, note 2). The influence of Al-Kindi lasted after his death, and Nagy (l. c. p. XI) assumes that "Mohammed, the disciple of Al-Kindi," who wrote the Liber Introductorius, etc., is Al-Farabi, who, although not directly a disciple of Al-Kindi, still considers the latter his master, since all his teachers were under the influence of Al-Kindi.

[1] Illustrative of this attitude to philosophers, is the passage in which Usaibi'a, speaking of Al-Farabi, says, "Al-Farabi was a perfect philosopher, may God forgive him" (Steinschneider, Al-Farabi, p. 8 note 13).

[2] Edited by Flügel-Roediger, Leipzig, 1871-2.

[3] Author of a biographical work on prominent men of the civilized nations. See Steinschneider, Al-Farabi, p. 141 ff.

in one of his works on this subject "multa deliria et mendosa", (Steinschneider, Al-Farabi, p. 150). Abdu'l-Latif, an Arabic physician of the twelfth century, tells (see Munk, l. c. p. 340) that he wrote a book on the nature and essential attributes of God with the sole purpose of refuting Al-Kindi's doctrines on these subjects (Flügel's list n. 177). Munk (l. c.) quotes a Latin work of the thirteenth century,—"De Erroribus Philosophorum," which attacks Al-Kindi, and from which it appears that he was devoted not only to astrological superstitions, but also to certain doctrines of the Alexandrian mystics.

On the other hand a favorable attitude towards Al-Kindi is also found, and some Arabic writers assign to him a place above all other Arabic philosophers. We have already mentioned the rank given him as translator by Abu Ma'shar. Ibn Joljol, a physician of the tenth century, quoted by Al-Kifti (p. 368 ll. 16-19), says that no Arabic philosopher could penetrate into the meaning of Aristotle as Al-Kindi, and that his translations and commentaries have removed all the difficulties and obscurities in Aristotle. 'Ali Ibn Rijal, a famous astrologer of the beginning of the eleventh century, speaks of Al-Kindi in one of his works, (quoted by Steinschneider, Z. D. M. G. XXIV. p. 388) thus: Verumtamen.. .. ..dicatur quod modis omnibus fuit magis intelligens cunctis aliis sapientibus in judiciis Astronomiae et magis completus aliis in scientia hac. Etiam fateatur quod qui errores ipsi adscribuntur proveniunt ex mala interpretatione nec satisfaciente intentione authoris, neque eam explicante: quia hic valde concisus et strictus est. Al-Kifti, who, in his biographical dictionary (p. 366-78), devotes a long and, on the whole, appreciative article to Al-Kindi, says, "No one in Islam attained such fame in philosophy as Ya'kub, so that they termed him *the* philosopher."[1] Ibn Abi Usaibi'a (d. 1269, according to others, 1292)[2]

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[1] ולם יכן פי אלאסלאם מן אשרתהר ענד אלנאס במעאנאה עלום אלפלספה חרתי סמוה פילסופא גיר יעקוב הדא Al-Kifti, p. 367, l. 17.

[2] Author of the great work on Arabic physicians, edited by August Miller, Königsberg, 1884.

defends him against the attack of the Kadi Sa'id referred to above, and declares his harsh judgment to be due to prejudice and to have as its purpose the discouragement of the study of Al-Kindi. And this same Sa'id, in a passage quoted by Steinschneider (Al-Farabi p. 142) makes a statement in which, while denying to Arabs a genius for philosophy, he continues to say, "I know, indeed, of no real Arabs who have distinguished themselves in it, unless it be Abu Yusuf Ya'kub ben Ishak Al-Kindi and El-Hamdani."

Al-Kindi has also met with appreciation from the Christian writers of the Middle Ages. Roger Bacon (1214-1294) says that since Ptolemy Al-Kindi has not been equaled in his knowledge of optics. Hieronymus Cardanus, physician and mathematician (d. 1576), styles him the Arabic Thales and Pythagoras, and can not find enough words to describe his greatness (Flügel, p. 2). Orientalists of the last century have recognized the importance of Al-Kindi. Flügel devoted to him a careful and exhaustive study, Loth treated his activity as astrologer, and Nagy edited for the first time a Latin translation of some of his philosophical treatises, with an introductory study. Steinschneider has added much to our knowledge of Al-Kindi in the various works to which we have referred, and Carra de Vaux (l. c.) has given a sketch of his philosophy.

5. Nationality of Al-Kindi. Another question that has engaged scholars since the appearance of d'Herbelot's Bibliotheque Orientale, is the nationality and religion of Al-Kindi. D'Herbelot probably misled by the Jewish names of the philosopher and his father, asserted (l. c. p. 278) that Al-Kindi was a Jew, and Wolf, following him, even mentions him twice (Bibl. Hebr. III, ns. 30, 1054b) under different names, with the title rabbi. So also de Rossi (Dizionario Storico, p. 30,55). Gesenius ("Arabische Literatur" in Ersch and Gruber; see also Steinschneider, Monatschrift 1893-4, p. 39; Die Arab. Literatur der Juden p. 315; J. Q. R. IX, p. 620), anxious to prove that the astrology, prevalent among Arabs and medieval Christians, had its origin among the Jews, shared the opinion that he was a Jew. De Sacy (Relation de l'Egypte p.

187), argues against this view. Flügel (p. 18) also takes pains to refute the supposition that he was a Jew, with arguments that are not always correct.[1] Steinschneider (Al-Farabi p. 142) proved conclusively from the assertion of Sa'id (quoted before p. 68) that Al-Kindi and Al-Hamdani were the only *real* Arabs (מן צמים אלערב) who had attained to greatness in philosophy, that Al-Kindi was a Mohammedan by faith and Arabic in descent. He was further corroborated when Loth published the Arabic text of an astrological treatise of Al-Kindi, "On the Dominion of the Arabs and its Duration," in which Al-Kindi shows that his astrological predictions in regard to the duration of the Arabic dominion coincide with the period indicated by signs in the Koran, and prophesies the ultimate victory of Islam over all religions and empires, thus giving evidence of a belief in Koran and Mohammed.[2]

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[1] So, for example, he argues that if Al-Kindi had been a Jew, he would not have called his son Abul-Abbâs. This supposition is unfounded; Abbâs means אריה (lion), and like it and its equivalents (the German Löwe, Loeb, the Yiddish Leb, Leib), Abbâs was used by many Jews as a cognomen to Jehuda (see Steinschneider, J. Q. R. XI, p. 332), for example, Jehuda Al-Abbâs, and his son Samuel Al-Abbâs, a prominent scholar (died c. 1180), who converted to Islam (see Steinschneider, Arab. Lit., § 149). Likewise his assertion that there is no evidence that there were Jews in the tribe of Kinda is false; the Arabic historian, Ibn Kutaiba (ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen, 1850), a contemporary of Al-Kindi, reports (p. 299) the existence of adherents of Judaism in the tribes Himyar, Kinana.. and Kinda: כאנת אלנצראניה פי רביעה.....וכאנת אליהודיה פי חמיר ובני כנאנה..... וכנדה (Cf. Shahrastânî-Haarbrücker, Religionsparteien und Philosophenschulen, Halle, 1850, II, 341, and the note a. l., p. 433 f.). Flügel's argument that Al-Kindi's father could not have been a Jew, because, as a Jew, he would not have been appointed governor of Kûfa, is incorrect. We find Jews, at various times, occupying high positions,—even that of Vizier,—under the Caliphs. Cf. Steinschneider, Zur Stellung gelehrter Juden unter den Arabern (Brann's Jahrbuch zur Belehrung und Unterhaltung, Breslau, 1898).

[2] Al-Kindi has crept into Jewish literature under the disguised

There has also been advanced an opinion by some that Al-Kindi was a Christian. This supposition has no other basis than the confusion of our philosopher with a contemporary of the same name, a Christian, who also flourished at the court of Al-Ma'mun, Abd Al-Masih ibn Ishak Al-Kindi, the author of a Christian apologetic epistle ("The Apology of Al-Kindi," by Sir William Muir, London, 1887). That the philosopher, Al-Kindi, was no Christian is proved beyond all doubt by the fact that the Christian Jacobite Yahya Ibn 'Adi (d. 974, mentioned by Maimonides in Moreh I. 71, cf. Munk Guide I. p. 341, note 2), wrote his Demonstratio Errorum qui in dissertatione Jacobi fil. Isaac Al-Kendi adversus Christianos occurrunt (s. Steinschneider, Pol. und Apol. Lit. p. 126; Muir, l. c. p. 22) in answer to the attack of our Al-Kindi on the doctrine of the Trinity.

6. Traces of Al-Kindi in Hebrew Literature. From the standpoint of Jewish literature it will be of interest to point out the traces of Al-Kindi that appear therein. These are but few. The works of our philosopher seem to have been lost before the awakening of scientific interest and the beginning of the activity of translation among the Jews in the tenth century. Whereas the doctrines of the Arabic philosophers who followed Al-Kindi became the common property of Jewish writers who translated their works, commented upon them and quoted them repeatedly, either in support of their own views or for the purpose of refutation, Al-Kindi himself is but rarely mentioned, and his place in Hebrew literature is insignificant. Of the few works of Al-Kindi that survived and were known to Jewish authors, only three appear in Hebrew, in translations by Kalonymos bar Kalonymos (1314);—1. a short epistle on nativities (אגרת בקיצור המאמר במולדות); 2. an epistle on moisture and rain, (אגרת [המספקת] בלחיות ובמטר);

name, R. Joseph b. Jacob Ashalmer. Steinschneider (Jewish Literature p. 192) following one of the Christian bibliographers mentions him among the astrologers, but he corrects it in his index to this work (Frankf. a. M. 1893) and in his Hebr. Uebers. (p. 563, note 180). See also my Hebrew edition of "Jewish Literature," p. 289, and J. Q. R., IX, 620.

3. an epistle on the influences ascribed to the higher beings (the planets), on the origin of rain (אגרת בעלות המיוחסות אל האישים העליונים המורות על הויות הנשמים)[1].

The name of Al-Kindi is mentioned in the Hebrew translation made by Kalonymos bar Kalonymos of an *Introduction to Arithmetic* written in the first or second century by Nikomachus of Gerasa, a philosopher of the Pythagorean school (Steinschneider, Hebr. Übers. § 320),[2] Abraham Ibn Ezra mentions Al-Kindi among other Arabic astronomers, in his introduction to מעמי לוחות אלכוארזמי—the translation of an Arabic work by an astronomer, Al-Muthanna (ibid. § 356). Jehuda b. Moses Mosconi of Ochrida in Roumania (1328-70), quotes the third of the abovementioned epistles in his super-commentary to Ibn Ezra's commentary to the Bible,—ואמר יעקב אלכנדי החכם בשלמות חכמת התכונה בספרו הידוע בשם אגרת המטר (a mistake, for אגרת בעלות, cf. Steinschneider Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judentums III. p. 201, see also ibid., note 26.)

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[1] For a full discussion of these three epistles, together with extracts from the Hebrew texts, see Steinschneider, Z. D. M. G. XVIII, 131 ff; also, Hebr. Uebrs., § 351.

[2] This translation was based on an Arabic translation, made by a disciple of Al-Kindi, (Habib b. Bahriz), and corrected by another of his disciples, the Spanish bishop, Abu Sulaiman Rabi'u b. Yahya in accordance with explanations of Al-Kindi. The translation was used by Abraham b. Solomon Yarhi Zorphathi, who quotes it in a commentary to Euclid's Elements (Steinschneider Hebr. Übers, pp. 508, 519), Mordechai b. Eliezer Komtino (Steinschneider, die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Königl. Bibl. zu Berlin, Berlin, 1878, p. 26, No. 49), Elijah Mizrahi in his כ'המכתם (Hebr. Uebers., p. 519, note 139), and Joseph Solomo del Medigo (see Geiger מלא חפנים pp. 14 and 104).

THE JEWISH MINISTER.*

BY CLAUDE G. MONTEFIORE.

I HAVE been asked by Mr. Frisch to write a short article for the Annual of the Hebrew Union College. Mr. Frisch suggested that I should write something "as to the work" which, (in my opinion) "has to be done by the Jewish minister, religious, sociological, etc." I fear I cannot do this. Mr. Frisch says that I am of those "who can speak with authority" about "duties and ideals." But here he is mistaken. I cannot speak "with authority." Moreover, it would be presumption for me, an Englishman, who have never even visited America, to lay down the law about the duties and ideals of American ministers. I do not know enough of your future status, or environment; I am too ignorant of what is expected of you, and of your actual relations with the congregations, whose servants and teachers you are to be, to enable me to offer you any specific exhortations or advice. I prefer, then, to confine myself to a few rambling generalities. For though I am an Englishman, and you are Americans, we are all of us human beings and all of us Jews. We have, therefore, common bonds, and in more senses than one we speak a common language. My rambling generalities will, I hope, be true for America as well as for England. They are, at any rate, true to me; I keenly believe in them.

A minister or clergyman should be the best of men. The teacher of young and old about the greatest matters should have the finest possible character, the widest possible experience, the deepest insight, the largest knowledge! And yet it is obvious

* Mr. Montefiore was more than kind in interrupting the pleasures of a trip along the Nile, with the writing of this article.—Ed.

that most ministers cannot possess this wonderful combination of qualities. Most of them, in knowledge, insight and experience, at any rate, cannot hope to attain exceptional preeminence. How, then, can they succeed best, or rather fail least, in the discharge of their duties? Putting deeper things aside for the moment, I answer without hesitation: by humility. Humility, or modesty, or complete lack of conceit, self-assertion, pride and bumptiousness—call what I mean by what term or terms you will—is the fundamental requisite of the Minister. Humility to him is like heat to the viands of a dinner. Even poorly cooked food, if served hot, is eaten with tolerable satisfaction, while the best cooked dishes in the world are ruined by tepidity. So a modest minister may do much good, even if he have very moderate brains and very limited knowledge. But a conceited minister, however clever and however learned, fails in the very essence of his task. He may be admired: he may give pleasure; he will not make men and women more sensible of the presence of God.

I feel so strongly upon this question of humility and conceit, that I am almost inclined to stop here and say no more! It might make my words more emphatic. But as I must not do this I shall revert to the matter more than once. For it seems to me to be constantly cropping up. The conceited man can hardly, I think, be a spiritual man. Now, a good minister need not be learned or eloquent; learning and eloquence are good, but they can be dispensed with. But if a man be not spiritual, let him be anything else in the world he pleases, only, for heaven's sake, let him not be a clergyman.

And the next thing which the unconceited student for the ministry can and must be, is sincere—absolutely sincere. We shall see one or two ways where sincerity comes in later on.

If a young man be humble and sincere, it should not be difficult for him to keep his eyes open. He will be willing to learn not only from books, but from men. He will understand that there are more things to learn than what books can hold. He will not even (being humble and sincere and open-eyed) think that his

own manners and breeding are necessarily the best possible, or that he neither need nor can improve himself in such outwardnesses and details. In *all* matters he will be anxious and willing to learn, and his very sincerity will enable him by a finer instinct to choose the good and reject the evil.

Lastly, to come to the deepest need of all, the student for the ministry must possess a simple faith in God, a frank desire to love God better, to feel his presence more. If he is truly humble, if he has a vivid sense of his own frailties and faults, this faith and this desire may prosper and increase. He who would help and rescue others must himself be holy. It is only holiness which knows when to condemn and when to exonerate, when to punish and when to pardon. It is only the humble, sincere, and open-eyed believer who can advance towards this personal holiness, and become the passionate lover of man and of God.

But I am rambling too violently. What about learning and scholarship? Are these not necessities for the minister, and for the Jewish minister most of all? Students of a college, as you are, you will not be likely to underestimate knowledge. I had better, perhaps, confine myself to a few generalities about the limitations of learning and the dangers of a false intellectualism.

May we, then, not fitly remember that character is greater than learning, but that learning helps in the formation of character? The moral is higher than the intellectual, but there can be no morality without intelligence. I would not for one moment disparage learning—it is absolutely necessary in your calling and a good lot of it, too—but let us not forget that there is something higher than learning, and secondly, when we speak of learning, let it be the genuine article, and no gaudy imitation. First, then, there is something higher than learning, or rather than learnedness, and that higher is piety. I will not attempt to discuss the question whether Hillel was right when he said "An empty headed man cannot be a sin fearing man, nor can an ignorant person be pious," though I might ask you to consider how far Hillel has been backed up in modern times by the great educational-

ist Herbart. Hillel's assertions may contain truth, but, even so, it will still, I think, be true that the keen lover of God with little learning makes a better *minister* than a great scholar who is not a keen lover of God. The man who wants to be a minister must at least humbly hope that he may now and then be able to repeat such passages as Psalms xxxvi. 5-9, lxiii. 3-8, li. 9-12, with the sense that these passages interpret, although they transcend, his own feelings and experience. If in addition to this he be also learned, so much the better. The minister should be able to appreciate the element of mysticism which pervades all true religion in its highest moods, and to be able to appreciate it, he must, however feebly, have felt or experienced it.

If knowledge has its limitations, it has also its dangers. And this, in the course of my rambling, brings me back to my old enemy—conceit. I want to venture upon very delicate ground. Have all Americans the same excellent manners, the same courtesy and breeding, the same social advantages, the same wide opportunities? Or are there in the new world as well as in the old differences in these respects? And are these differences admitted? Do the candidates for the Jewish ministry come from those classes, or strata, of society who possess the widest social outlook and advantages, and who have possessed them for several generations? If these differences of environment and opportunity exist, and are admitted to exist, and if the Jewish ministers are often recruited from those who have not enjoyed the best opportunities and the widest environment, there is a danger lest the minister, by his training and by his official position, become somewhat raised above those with whom he and his family had before associated. Then he may be looked upon with more than respect by many persons, both old and young. He may become an oracle; he may like, and be able, to make his voice heard; among rather a small and poor "set" he may hold a court. His jokes may be applauded; his approval desired. And so he may think himself a person of importance; he may fall a victim to conceit, and the progress of his spiritual life and his power for good may be marred and arrested

for ever. I trust, if these dangers exist in America, that students of the Hebrew Union College will bear them in mind and fortify their souls against them. Forewarned is forearmed. I would even venture one step further. It is no more a personal disgrace not to have lived among those who have had, perhaps for generations, the undeserved good fortune of possessing the best social advantages, the widest outlook and environment than it is not to have had the opportunities of learning to speak French. But many people will use an opportunity, if it comes, of learning French; they will not use the opportunity, if it comes, of learning that which, in the opinion of an old divine, "makes the man." And yet not only etymologically, but in some more real, if also in a very subtle and indefinable sense, manners are akin to morals. Why with this use of the one opportunity this neglect of the other? It is due in most cases to intellectual conceit and to a lack of simple open-eyedness. I know that in using such terms as "social advantages" and "social opportunities" and in laying stress upon manners, I shall most probably be called a snob and a Philistine. Be it so. All I can reply is that what I have said is the product of some reflection and some experience. Believing it and saying it go against the grain, so I am all the more inclined to think that it is true.

I pass on now to another caution as regards knowledge, which keeps me closer within the limits of the intellectual. I would earnestly beg of you to beware of ill-digested knowledge, of sounding phrases and superficiality. These evils are not merely the bane of sermons, but they have a corruptive influence upon character. It is better to have read one or two masterpieces of a given literature than a number of text-books or "outlines," which enable a sharp reader to make seemingly learned allusions, based really upon the poorest knowledge. To read carefully one complete division of the Midrash is far more educational than to read any number of extracts and tit-bits and essays. Of all "awful warnings" commend me to a turgid rationalism, full of phrases and quotations, and yet so hollow and so cheap. It rings false and it tastes acid. There is no greater study than the study of philosophy.

But it is also a dreadful snare! Text-books and extracts are here most deadly of all. The patient absorption of a single masterpiece is better for you than the skeleton outline of the history of all philosophy from Thales to Hegel. Let the youthful preacher beware of writing about that which he has not appropriated and made his own. The evil habit may otherwise grow upon him. The cold, flashy, turgid, allusive, mock-learned, rhetorical, rationalistic, up-to-date sermon is to my mind a horror. I have read some English sermons which—may I say happily?—were not delivered in England.

The preacher, as he writes his sermon, should frequently ask himself: "Does this sentence mean anything for me? Do I know enough to say that? Are these remarks mere snippets from my text-books? Have I really felt that? Do I know it to be true by my own experience? Is this adjective put in for effect, or to make a better cadence? Is this paragraph wholly sincere? Could it be said more simply, more briefly?" For a sermon must be the expression of your own mind and soul. It must not be a display of cheap fireworks. These are not only insincere, valueless and corrosive, but they are, oh! so deadly dull.

Let me come now to closer quarters. Knowledge in Judaism has always occupied a high position, though it has often been a very limited and one-sided knowledge, and included a great deal of valueless trifling. But it is fine and characteristic that the first request in the *Amidah* should be for knowledge. "Thou favourest man with knowledge and teachest mortals understanding. O favour us with knowledge, understanding and discernment from Thee. Blessed art thou, O Lord, gracious giver of knowledge." No Jew, whether orthodox or reform, can estimate knowledge at a low rate, but the point is *what* knowledge must a Jewish minister possess today? And, secondly, though it is true to say *"caeteris paribus"* the more knowledge the better, it is not always true that the "other things" *are* "equal." I have no time to discuss the question how much specifically *Jewish* knowledge a modern Jewish minister in America should possess. I feel con-

vinced that he can rightly and properly be ignorant of a great deal, if what he does know he knows well, and if he knows enough to have the power at any time to know more. A man who knows where to find what he wants, who can use the material, who has the spirit of scholarship and can put his hand upon his tools, is in a place of vantage. His actual reading may not be enormously wide, but what he has read he has made his own. His knowledge is alive and accurate so far as it goes, and therefore, if need be, he can add to it. For my part, I do not hesitate to express the belief that a vast mass of Jewish literature, like a vast mass of Christian literature, will be less studied and read as time proceeds. Because a book was written by a Jew in the middle ages, that is no reason why a Jewish minister in America of the 20th century is the better for reading it. The Shulchan Aruch and its Commentaries will probably fall more and more into oblivion. Specialists no doubt must exist in every department. But just as only a few Christian clergymen need study the minutiæ of the Canon law, so will it be, as regards the minutiæ of Jewish law, for the great majority of Jewish ministers. A good deal of exaggeration is talked on these matters by our neo-conservatives. There remains, after all deductions have been made, a great deal of Jewish or Hebrew literature, which it will do you good to read and know. But for certain whole provinces of your ignorance you need not be ashamed. Only do not pretend to know what you do not know. Do not think you know a book because you have read twenty pages *about it.* You don't *know* a book till you have read *the book*—and read it more than once.

The position of the Jews and of a Jewish minister in the modern and western world is so very peculiar and unique. Moreover the position of the Jews and of Jewish literature has been special and peculiar throughout the ages. The Jews have for long lived apart from the great movements and currents of universal history. Their movements and currents have influenced them, and they in their turn have exercised now and then some influence upon the movements and currents, but, on the whole, it is true to say that

their life and literature represent a sort of backwater apart from the big general stream. Now today we live in the big general stream, and we breathe and ought to breathe its air. (My metaphor may be a bit mixed, but my meaning is, I hope, clear.) So, too, in learning and knowledge. We must not fix our eyes upon a corner. We must learn something of general history, before, or while, we learn something of Jewish history. We must *place* our own little corner in the great map of the world. Thus the student for the Jewish ministry has an especially hard task, and no curriculum is harder to organize well than the curriculum of a Jewish training college. The Jewish student must be something of a specialist. But what should we think of an oculist who had not first taken his degree in general medicine and surgery? The oculist must go through a complete general course first, and then proceed to study his own particular branch. So the student for the Jewish ministry ought to know a great deal that Christian theological students learn as well as a great deal that is special and peculiar to Judaism. His course of training should extend over more years than theirs, for he has a great deal more to learn.

I cannot expand these reflections. Perhaps they are altogether outside what I was asked to write about. Students do not fashion their own curriculum. They have largely to learn what is put before them. But what I hope is, that you will not find your capacity and opportunities for study closed when you leave the college and enter upon the "practical career" of a minister. I trust that you will remember that it is as much your duty to read and think as it is to visit the poor and serve upon Committees. I hope that in America your congregations understand this too, and that they do not make you eke out inadequate salaries by giving lessons, or force you to do too much "practical work" to the detriment of your minds. The time which you are able to give to reading and study is intensely precious: it is a difficult and delicate question to decide how best to spend it, and how to adjust the claims of general knowledge on the one hand, and of

your own "specialism" upon the other. It is for that reason, and in view of the future, that I have ventured to make these scanty, but I trust not wholly unsuggestive, remarks, upon a subject of peculiar complexity.

And now I must bring these discursive and rambling observations to a close. Arduous and lofty is the career to which you are going to devote your lives. Yet it is one in which they who are sincere, humble, open-eyed, pious, devoted, and selfless, can hardly fail to achieve good. A string of adjectives, you will exclaim, but all six of them, be it noted, depend upon character, and are independent of brilliant wits. "The good life of a clergyman is his best sermon." This saying applies to the ministers of all denominations. There is much indeed for you to do. In America, as well as in other lands, there are, I suppose, the waverers to strengthen, the indifferent to arouse. The meaning and consistency of progressive, or liberal, Judaism it is for you to proclaim and to defend. You who receive the torch must hand it on to others. You have to seek to make both the wise and the simple care more greatly for religion and for Judaism. For material things they must feel less passionate concern; for the things of the spirit they must feel more. Coarseness and vulgarity must diminish; the love of wealth and display must be relaxed, in order that a veil which hides the presence of God from the eyes of the soul may effectually be torn asunder. In a word, you have to labor for the increase of saintly souls and saintly lives, for the expansion of the highest Judaism, its fuller recognition by all. All this can only be done, or rather a fraction of all this can only be done, by the combination of piety and knowledge. And while knowledge must never slacken, piety must always precede. What is piety does any one ask? I will not attempt a definition. But I know that he alone is truly pious who is humble and sincere, possessed of a living faith in the reality of the divine presence, and seeking in the strength and sweetness of that faith to order the labor of his days.

Assouan, Egypt, Feb. 22, 1904.

ESSENCE OF PROPHECY.[1]

BY MOSES BUTTENWIESER.

SINCE the history of Israel has been brought back by modern Bible-study from the transcendental sphere to which it had been removed by the theological spirit prevailing through the centuries, and has been reinstated among the things and processes subject to universal laws and illustrating the great general principles everywhere governing action and development, it has met with much keener, and with ever-growing interest.

The application of the historico-critical method of study to the Bible, the classical monument of religious belief and religious experience, and to its record of Israel's past, has not had the result which orthodoxy feared. It has not led to unbelief and religious indifference, but has rather conduced to a deeper understanding of, and a closer intimacy with religious truth, than was possible under the old *noli me tangere* method of approaching the biblical writings, inasmuch as it tends to bring men nearer to the immortal source whence the idea of the divine flows into their soul, helps them to penetrate into the mysterious depths in which the religious feeling has its roots and derives its nourishment and all-transforming power.

Yet in thus strengthening the belief in the reality and inevitable-

[1] The present article forms an abstract of a more comprehensive study in preparation on Essence and Origin of Prophecy.

ness of the religious consciousness in man, Bible-criticism must not be understood as making any concession to orthodoxy or as taking any step to uphold the old dogmatic standpoint, but as simply showing the natural and necessary consequence of the method and principles which modern biblical research has in common with all other branches of scientific research.

The predominant endeavor of our age is to know things in their actuality, not that we believe that we can thereby come to a comprehension of their very center and essence, but, on the contrary, because we know that there is nothing else than phenomenal knowledge within the scope of our understanding, because science is today more convinced than ever of the impossibility of bridging over the abyss between the world of phenomena and the world of reality back of the phenomena. Modern science does not deny the existence of the unknowable, but, unlike the Faustian spirit of former centuries, which strove to outsoar its human limits and to comprehend the mysterious and ultimate relations of all things, it recognizes the futility of seeking to pierce the veil of the supersensuous world.

Inasmuch, however, as it has come to acknowledge unhesitatingly that there is a supersensuous world, it has left no ground for the materialistic conception of the universe, which obtained a few decades ago. The philosophy of today not only recognizes the psychical as a positive factor even as the physical, but her greatest exponent, Wm. Wundt, basing his theory upon the dynamical principle of the conservation of energy, maintains that it is an absolute impossibility to interpret psychical processes as the transformation of physical, and declares consequently that there is but one alternative, viz.: to hold psychical processes for the only real ones, and matter and material processes for mere subsidiary notions.[2]

Modern psychology, too, shows the tendency ever stronger to

[2] Ueber psychische Causalität und das Princip des psychophysischen Parallelismus (in Philosophische Studien, vol. X, pp. 36, sqq.); cf. also his Einleitung in die Philosophie, pp. 366-370.

set aside as inadequate the time-honored axiom of Descartes, viz., that of the identity of the ego with consciousness, and even to declare that the Sub-conscious in man is of not less influence and vital importance than the Conscious. Just along this line extensive researches have been made, the results of which have been drawn upon largely by a number of recent writers, in explaining certain phenomena of religious experience, notably by Brinton in his book *Religions of Primitive Peoples,* and by Wm. James in *The Varieties of Religious Experience.* Brinton's statement at the close of Lect. II, *The Origin and Contents of Primitive Religions,* may be quoted here as illustrating the tendency just referred to, and as having especial pertinence to our own subject of investigation: "Not from any conscious act of intelligence, not from any process of voluntary reasoning is that belief (in unknown powers) born, but from the unknown, the unplumbed abyss of the sub-conscious mind.

". . . It (the subconscious mind) draws its knowledge from sources which elude scientific research, from the strange powers which we perceive in insects and other lower animals, almost, but not wholly, obliterated in the human line of organic descent; and from others, now merely nascent or embryonic, new senses, destined in some far off aeon to endow our posterity with faculties as wondrous to us as would be sight to the sightless.

"More than this: the teachings of the severest science tell us that Matter is, in its last analysis, motion, and that motion is nought else than Mind; and who dare deny that in their unconscious functions our minds may catch some overtones as it were, from the harmonies of the Universal Intelligence thus demonstrated by inductive research, and vibrate in unison therewith?"

The same principles and considerations which, as we have briefly sketched, have been the guide and motive-power throughout the province of science in general, led in due course also to the historical treatment of the Bible, while, in its turn modern biblical research, whether acting consciously, or whether dimly

impelled by the great undercurrent of the age, has tended towards the same end as the other branches of scientific research.

So the history of Israel was brought down from the nebulous heights to which religious speculation had transplanted it and set plainly "in the light of common day" where it properly belongs. In this light we have to view it. Thus only does it become possible for us to follow it intelligently, to comprehend its vicissitudes, to take a human interest in its actors, flesh and blood like ourselves, to feel our hearts pulsate under the sway of the *furor poeticus* by which its seers and inspired singers were possessed, and lifted into regions too high for common mortals, to see its heroes in their true light, no longer demi-gods and supernatural beings, but simply heroes, leaders, teachers, great men, towering among their fellows of every age and nation. Thus only are we enabled to discriminate where, in the history of Israel, the warp and woof are discernible to mortal eye, the intertexture naked and open to human analysis, and where the design of the web is inscrutably beyond the intellect of man.

That the history of Israel, in very many of its pages, does open before us depths far beyond our human ability to fathom is acknowledged even by those modern scholars whose strictly scientific mode of thought cannot be questioned. Nöldeke in referring to Mommsen's surprise at the complete and rapid Hellenization of the Jews in the Greek and half-Greek world, writes: "Wunderbar ist das, aber man könnte fast fragen: was ist in der Geschichte dieses Volkes nicht wunderbar, oder wenigstens abnorm?"[3]

Nowhere, however, are we so confronted by the presence of the inscrutable and unfathomable as in the history of literary prophecy, a fact which will be constantly borne in upon us in the course of our enquiry into the Essence of Prophecy.

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[3] Ueber Mommsen's Darstellung der römischen Herrschaft und römischen Politik im Orient in Zeitschrift d. deutsch. morgenländischen Gesellschaft, vol. XXXIX, p. 342.

From the nature of the subject it will be impossible to give a full presentation of it within the scope of the present article; only a brief sketch of the essential features of prophecy will be attempted.

I.

The distinctive feature of prophecy, that which constitutes its peculiar nature and which caused the prophetic movement to be of such profound and such wide-reaching influence, is the prophets' unyielding assurance of immediate communion with God, combined with their abiding consciousness of divine inspiration. Any true explanation of prophecy must proceed, therefore, from this premise.

Ample proof of our assertion is contained in the prophets' own statements. Not only does every one of the prophets claim to have received divine revelation and aver, as the one thing of which he is most certain, that it is God's message which issues from his mouth, but all, without exception, declare that by God's revelation to them they were irresistibly impelled to prophesy, and that all their preaching was called forth by and emanated from that revelation.

Thus Jeremiah says (ch. xxiii. 18, 22) that the mark of the true prophet is that he has stood in communion with God, has perceived and heard His word, and is driven to proclaim it,[4] adding that God's revelation must, of necessity, lead to the preaching of penance. Similarly Amos, in accounting for his foreknowledge, declares that "God does nothing without having revealed his purpose to his servants, the prophets" (ch. iii. 7). Still more eloquent testimony than the statement quoted above from Jeremiah is borne by the fact that, after his prediction of the fall

[4] Instead of וַיַּשְׁמַע at the end of v. 18 read וַיַּשְׁמַע Hiph'il in accordance with the וישמיעו of the parallel verse 22 and also of ch. IX. 11 (see Giesebrecht, Das Buch Jeremiah, übers. u. erkl., ad loc.). The change of וַ to וְ is, however, not necessary, the jussive with וְ consec. here expressing consequence as e. g. וַיָּמָת Jer. ch. XXXVIII. 9.

of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Temple (chs. vii—viii. 3) has brought down on his head the hatred of the whole nation, and his life hangs in the balance, he still declares unflinchingly that he has been sent by God to make this prophecy (ch. xxvi. 12, 15).

In ch. xx. 7a, 9, Jeremiah describes vividly the overmastering force with which God's revelation has taken hold of him, driving him to prophesy: "Thou, O God, dost hold overmastering sway over me, so that I am enthralled; thou hast seized and overpowered me. And I thought I would not mind Him, I would not speak any more in His name; then it was within me as a raging fire shut up in my bosom; I strove to withstand it, but I could not." It is scarcely necessary to dwell on the singular value of this account, which reveals the remarkable faculty of introspection possessed by Jeremiah and his equally remarkable power of describing experiences which ordinarily elude description. His words command attention; they are the words of a sane man analyzing his inmost soul, and they give us a better insight than almost anything else could into what, from his own description, might be called the prophetic seizure. There can be no doubt that Jeremiah ascribes the unquenchable fire within him seeking vent in prophecy to the fact that God's revelation has seized him and that it possesses and controls him absolutely. There is no escape from this strange force; it is in vain that he struggles against it. Even greater intensity is added to this declaration by vv. 7b, 8, where he says that he must proclaim God's word, although for himself it has no fruit other than the mockery and persecution of his fellow-men: "I have become a constant target of laughter, every one mocks me. For, as often as I speak, I must cry out, must complain of violence and abuse, for the word of God but serves to bring upon me ignominy and contumely without end."

Like Jeremiah, Amos too testifies to the irresistible power within him, compelling him to prophesy. In that famous passage, where he seeks to explain his coming forth as prophet, he says:

"When the lion roars who can but fear; when the Lord God speaks who can but prophesy" (ch. iii. 8), implying by this parallel that, as the roaring of the lion irresistibly inspires fear, so does God's revelation as inevitably impel man to prophesy. Still more explicit is Amos' testimony on this point in his reply to Amasiah (ch. vii. 14, 15): "I am not a prophet, nor a member of a prophetic guild—I am a shepherd and a grower of sycamores—but God called me away from [my] flock, bidding me go, prophesy against my people Israel!" By this seemingly contradictory assertion Amos means to emphasize that he is prophet neither by profession nor by choice—by profession he was a shepherd and grower of sycamores—but that God's voice drove him away from his herds and caused him to appear as prophet at Beth-El. We see, then, that Amos like Jeremiah, did not seek God's revelation, but that suddenly and unexpectedly it came upon him in his native pastures.

The verses just quoted, with the following vv. 16, 17, in which Amos gives the purport of the message he received, are of importance to us also in another respect, for we learn from them that it was Israel's imminent ruin that was revealed to him on that mysterious occasion. Amos, therefore, declares, in effect, that he was called by God, and called for the distinct purpose of preaching his people's doom. In fact, the certainty of the impending judgment forms the center and essence of Amos' preaching throughout. Not only does he open his sermons with this thought, ch. i. 2, but this introductory verse forms the motive running through his entire preaching, swelling out more strongly in each successive sermon, until the climax is reached in the shrill dissonance of the last one, where the prophet, possessed by the thought of the ruin about to overtake his people, until this thought has become a reality for him, describes how he sees God approaching to destroy Israel.

In this conviction of Amos that Israel is irrevocably doomed,[5]

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[5] Cf. especially the regularly recurring לא אשיבנו "I shall not revoke it" (viz., the judgment passed), of the introductory sermon,

and that he was called for the purpose of announcing her doom, another essential feature of prophecy is to be seen. For not only as regards the source of their foreknowledge and the circumstances which made them prophets, but also as regards the object of their mission, the other prophets give substantially the same testimony as Amos.

Possibly the best proof of this is to be found in the account given by Isaiah and Jeremiah of their consecration visions (Is. ch. vi. Jer. ch. 1). In their own words these prophets relate the event from which they date their call to prophecy. They describe how, in that mysterious hour, God revealed Himself to them in very reality, so that, from that moment on, they were possessed by what they had heard and experienced in their innermost soul. Regarding the substance of what they had heard and the mission assigned to them, they are quite explicit. As in the case of Amos, it was God's inexorable decree of judgment that was imparted to them, and that they were called to proclaim.[6] The impending judgment stands for them as something so absolutely beyond

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chs. I-II, by which Amos asseverates each threat separately. The suffix of אשיבנו refers back to the general announcement of judgment in the introductory verse, I. 2.

[6] While it is not our purpose here to undertake a full interpretation of Isaiah's and Jeremiah's consecration visions, it will, however, be in place to remark that there can be no doubt that the revelation of God's purpose towards His people forms the central point of the vision. For it was for the purpose of proclaiming this revelation that Isaiah and Jeremiah, as both explicitly state, were called. Any interpretation of the vision has therefore to proceed from this point.—The awakening that took place in the souls of the prophets, their awakening to the real nature and being of God and His relation to men (the account of which forms such a prominent part of Isaiah's vision) was but the consequence of the disclosure of their people's doom. This awakening of soul, and the realization of the full meaning of their calling which resulted therefrom, will engage our attention later.

doubt that Jeremiah believes that to preach the extermination of the nations is the primary aim of his mission, while Isaiah, his mind full of dread pictures of the approaching doom, a prey to the thought that his people, to the very last remnant, is given over to ruin (v. 13),[7] believes that to effect the total apathy of the people is the sole purpose of his (vv. 9, 10).

Indeed, of Jeremiah, as of Amos, it may be said that the certainty of the judgment forms the keynote to all his preaching. The dirges over the fallen nation are especially characteristic of his sermons, showing how real to him is the disaster he foresees. The most striking example of this is ch. viii. 18-23, which shows the prophet so haunted by the thought of the inevitable catastrophe, that he even speaks of his people as of חללי בת עמי "my nation slain on the field of battle" (v. 23). And what Amos, in ch. vii. 1-9, merely expresses indirectly[8] Jeremiah repeatedly states outright. Again and again he declares that he can no longer pray

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[7] The concluding words of v. 13 זרע קדש מצבתה "the stump thereof is holy seed," are now generally believed to be an interpolation; they directly contradict the thought brought out by the comparison immediately preceding: "Should a tenth be still left, this, in turn, will fall a prey to destruction, like the terebinth and the oak, of which, when felled, a stump remains." The meaning of the comparison is: The nation will be destroyed as the oak is felled; even the few surviving the downfall are doomed to perish, just as the stump after the tree is cut down is either rooted out or rots in the ground. The עשיריה as Duhm (in Das Buch Jesaia, übers. u. erkl. ad loc.), rightly points out, finds its explanation in Amos ch. V. 3, where Amos, in predicting the fall of the nation, says the nation will be decimated.—The addition זרע קדש מצבתה is of such late origin that the LXX does not contain it.

[8] In ch. VII. 1–9, Amos contrasts his state of mind since his people's doom has been revealed to him, with his mental state prior to that time, implying by this contrast that formerly it was possible for him to intercede for his people when disaster threatened them, but that since he has heard God pronounce, "I will no longer forgive them" (v. 8), his mouth has been closed to prayer.

for his people, since no act of intercession can avert the inevitable (cf. chs. vii. 16; xi. 14; xiv. 11 sq.; xv. 1 sq.).[9] Particularly instructive in this respect is ch. xxxvii. 10, where, to Sedekiah's request that he intercede with God for them, Jeremiah answers: "Even should ye destroy the army of the Chaldæans fighting against you until only the massacred be left [of them] these will, nevertheless, rise up in their tents, man by man, and burn down the city."

The usual explanation that the prophet was carried away by the force of his own emotion when he uttered this impassioned speech, cannot be accepted. Is not his whole life a corroboration of this speech? Did Jeremiah not really believe the catastrophe to be inevitable, he would not suffer such agony of soul at the thought of it. We see him constantly beset by visions of the approaching catastrophe. For him the joys of life have become a mockery. Whithersoever he turns, hideous shadows thrust themselves across his path and drive him out from the circle of life's joyous ones, yea, make it impossible for him to share the society of his fellow-men at all. He longs to flee from the haunts of men, where his forebodings have made him an object of derision and a laughing-stock for the crowd, to hide his grief in the solitude of the desert, and to bear his hopeless burden alone. What a heavy price the seer pays for his gift!—the bitterest isolation, the renunciation of all domestic happiness, the turning away from every sign of friendship and expression of sympathy, because his soul is relentlessly filled with pictures of the desolation and misery about to overtake his people (cf. chs. iv. 19-21; viii. 18-23; ix. 1; xv. 17 sq.; xvi. 1-9; xx. 7 sq., 14-18).

Yet, notwithstanding this constant anguish of soul and the unremitting persecution he has to suffer from his fellow-men Jeremiah does not succumb. And if we seek the source of the almost superhuman fortitude and perseverance which he shows in the pursuance of his mission, we find that it is in his ever-

[9] Cf. Smend, Alttestamentliche Religionsgeschichte (1893), p. 180.

present consciousness of communion with God. Those very outcries of despair cited above, prove this, those confessions in which, by pouring out his soul to God, he seeks relief from his suffering.—Jeremiah's confessions are of paramount value to us, for they reveal the prophet's innermost soul. Indeed, they offer the key to all his preaching, and, for that matter—since those elements of prophecy which give the whole prophetic movement its distinct character are most markedly developed in Jeremiah—the key to prophecy in general.

In ch. xv. 10, 15, 16, Jeremiah confesses that he is weary of life, since in God's service he has to bear the hatred of the whole world, and that he would fain die,[10] but almost in the same breath he expresses his resignation, saying that it is the joy of his soul to carry out God's will, so that, as he himself puts it, he verily devours every message from Him. At the conclusion of the confession, ch. xx. 7-11, he declares that, although his bosom friends are ready to betray him and his enemies beset him on every hand, still his consciousness of God's presence makes him feel the triumph of a hero[11] and gives him the assurance of final

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[10] Contrary to the accents and the generally accepted interpretation אל לארך אפך of v. 15 is not to be construed with the following תקחני but in accordance with the LXX and Targum with the proceeding והנקם לי מרדפי, "avenge me on my persecutors, but not according to thy long-suffering" (i. e. let thy vengeance be speedy). תקחני has here the same meaning as קח נפשי 1 Ki. XIX. 4, "let me die." What sense would it have to say, "do not let me be carried off according to thy long suffering?" Taken, however, in the way proposed, not only does excellent sense result, but the pathos of the situation is greatly enhanced by Jeremiah's following up his plea for vengeance with the request that God may let him die. Duhm (in Das Buch Jeremia erklärt, ad. loc.) recognized that the accepted translation of אל לארך אפך תקחני makes no sense, but resorted too hastily to the radical remedy of changing ארך to תארין and the elimination of תקחני.

[11] כגיבור עריץ of v. 11 is generally taken as apposition to יהוה The comparison, however, of Jhwh with a valiant hero has no special

victory. In other words, Jeremiah says that the knowledge of his intimate relation to God is the secret of his power.

In ch. xii. 1-3a he is still more explicit on this point. Reflecting on the unceasing persecution he has to endure (ch. xi. 18-23), he is brought face to face with the problem which some centuries later inspires the author of Job to his great theodicy, the problem, how are the suffering of the righteous and the prosperity of the wicked to be reconciled with the justice of God? Like Job, he acknowledges that it is beyond the power of the human intellect to comprehend this mystery, but—and here again Job is at one with him—he finally reaches the conclusion that, in reality, the problem does not call for a solution at all. For, in spite of the material prosperity of the wicked, he knows that no relation exists between them and God, whereas he feels that he has entered with God into such an intimate and perfect relation that he cannot desire, cannot even imagine anything above or beyond it.

Of this consciousness he feels sure no earthly power can deprive him, the less so, as his long, single-handed struggle against a whole nation has but conduced to confirm and intensify it. Like the Psalmist later, he might call out: "(Herr), wenn ich nur dich habe, frage ich nichts nach Himmel und Erden!"[12]

Hence, the complete self-renunciation, the absolute submission to God's will which Jeremiah reveals in the second part of that most pathetic of all his confessions, ch. xv. 10, 15-21, referred to above

point here, it rather diminishes the force of the assertion, "God is with me." Logically כגיבור עריץ, as Kimchi suggested, must be apposition to אותי, and by this construction, the thought expressed is excellent: "But since God is with me, I am as valiant as a hero!" A similar construction is עתה שימה לנו כלך לשפטנו ככל הגוים 1 Sa VIII. 5, "now appoint a King over us to rule over us, that we may be like all the other nations," where, also, the suffix of שפטנו is to be construed both as object with the infinitive שפט and as subject with the following כ In both examples כ is virtually the predicate.

[12] Ps. LXXIII. 25. I quote this verse, which in one sentence expresses the sum total of all religious experience, in Luther's classical translation, as I know of no other rendering so adequate.

in another connection. He says that the unrelenting hatred and persecution of his fellow-men are but a small part of what he has to bear; far more terrible than any persecution or bodily privation are the constant mental anguish and the joyless life of isolation that must be his because of his prophetic foresight (vv. 17, 18).[13] For a moment he gives way to despair—"Why must my agony last for ever and my wound be incurable, ever refusing to heal?"—but only for a moment. By the answer he puts in God's mouth, "If thou returnest [unto me] I shall let thee return, that thou mayest stay in my service; if thou dost produce noble deeds and not base ones, then thou shalt be my mouthpiece," Jeremiah confesses that in yielding to despair he has fallen short of his mission, shown himself unworthy of his Master, and that he has to fortify himself if he wants to remain God's prophet. Accordingly he proceeds in xvi. 1-9, which may appropriately be called the sequel of the confession, to represent his lot of bitter isolation and renunciation as the express wish and will of God. Surely, Jeremiah could not have better shown his sublime faith in God, his absolute self-surrender to His service!

It was from this unbounded trust, rooted, as it was, in his consciousness of constant union with God, that he derived his conviction of victory, notwithstanding apparent failure, and drew the strength to fulfill his task in spite of the seemingly insurmountable difficulties opposing him. Evidence of this we find in vv. 20 and 19b of the confession just referred to. "And I shall make thee as an inaccessible wall of brass against this people, so that they will wage war against, but not conquer thee, for I am with thee to shield and deliver thee." These are the words of God to him. After all the years of fruitless striving God imparts to him essentially the same assurance and encouragement that He had given

[13] By יד' of v. 17 is meant the compelling power which God's revelation exerts on the prophet. (Cf. the remarks above on this point, p. 86). It is the abbreviated form of חזקת היד which occurs Is. ch. VIII. 11.

him when sending him forth on his mission.[14] More than this, He says: "Let them become converted to thee, sink not thou to their level," implying by these words that if Jeremiah were to give way to his despondency he could never expect to carry out his task; he would just sink to the level of the people, whereas, by remaining steadfast he cannot fail to make converts in the end.

We shall have occasion later to deal more fully with this conviction of the prophets, that at some future time some positive good is bound to result from their labors, no matter how hopeless the present may be, nor how appalling the immediate future. It will suffice at this point to remark that, as Jeremiah's explicit statements prove, it was the outcome of their everpresent feeling of communion with God and of their belief that they had received God's revelation. Like Jeremiah so also are the other prophets convinced that God would not have revealed Himself to them were it not for some definite purpose. Direct testimony to this effect is borne also by Isaiah. When in 734, the allied Syro-Ephraimitic armies attacked Judah, Isaiah thought the occasion especially propitious for a renewed effort to convert the people to his faith, and thus save Judah from her otherwise inevitable ruin. But in vain did he hope. Both king and people showed themselves as indifferent as ever to his preaching (chs. vii—viii. 15). Yet, in the face of all this, Isaiah gives expression (viii. 16-18) to his conviction that God cannot in vain have revealed Himself to him, and declares consequently that there is nothing for him to do but to propagate his teachings among his disciples.[15] Through them, he feels assured, the truths revealed to him will continue to live until the time is ripe for their realization.

We believe now to have securely established our opening asser-

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[14] Cf. ch. I. 18 sq.

[15] צוֹר of v. 16, as is now generally accepted among exegetes, is abs. inf. and accordingly, instead of חָתוֹם , חֲתוֹם is to be read. The now prevailing interpretation of v. 16 was for the first time given by Kimchi.

tion to the effect that the essence of prophecy is to be seen in the prophets' unyielding assurance of immediate communion with God and in their abiding consciousness of divine inspiration. For although it has been maintained again and again that the glorious faith of the prophets, with the burning testimony to which it drove them, was really nothing more than delirium, enthusiastic self-delusion, surely, in those confessions and declarations, which at once proceed from and reveal to us the most sacred depths of their being, we have found overwhelming proof to the contrary.

The assurance with which the prophets continually refer to their immediate relation to God, and cling to this idea in spite of bitter opposition and still more bitter scorn, can be neither delirium nor vague pretension, nor can their ardent protestations of the immanence of the Divine in themselves be but meaningless phrases adapted to notions current in the age in which they lived. The clearness of their thoughts, the precision with which these are expressed, the rare faculty of introspection, which, above all, attests to the intellectual power of these men, preclude the possibility of self-delusion on however grand a scale.

In distinction from the prophets of the older type, and from the heathen diviners, "who were held to be under the influence of the godhead just in proportion as they lost intelligent self-control," the literary prophets from Amos down to Jeremiah (on whose writings the present sketch is based), as Robertson Smith remarks, "never appeared before their auditors in a state of ecstasy." Jhwh "speaks" to them "not in magical processes or through the visions of poor phrenetics, but by a clear, intelligible word addressed to the intellect and the heart. The characteristic of the true prophet is that he retains his consciousness and self-control under revelation." And in another passage the same writer says: "Nor is spiritual prophecy, as other scholars hold, a natural product of Semitic religion. Semitic religion, like other religions, naturally produces diviners; but even Mohammed had no criterion apart

from his hysterical fits to distinguish his own thoughts from the revelations of Allah."[16]

In accordance with this, our literary prophets disclaim all attempts at divination. However deeply convinced they are that the crisis will take place, as regards the particulars of their predictions, the how and the when, they openly admit their human limitations. The fact, therefore, that they err in these details is altogether irrelevant to them; their convictions remain unaltered. Thus, Hosea, in the first period of his activity, predicts that the fall of Israel and the overthrow of the dynasty of Jehu will occur simultaneously (Hos. ch. i. 4, 5), and though the course of history disproves his expectations, he persists, nevertheless, in his conviction that the nation is doomed. Similarly, Isaiah, when the events fail to verify his prophecy at the time of the Syro-Ephraimitic war, that in a year's time Damascus and Ephraim, as well as Judah, will be conquered by Assyria (Is. chs. vii. 14—viii. 8), continues to declare that the judgment is inevitable. And when, during the civil war after the death of Jeroboam II., the two contending factions into which the country is divided appeal to Assyria and Egypt, respectively, for interference, Hosea predicts that it will be just by means of this foolish policy that God will work their certain ruin (Hos. ch. vii. 11, 12), but he leaves it open whether it will be by Assyria or Egypt that their downfall will be brought about (cf. ch. ix. 3, and also viii. 13, the latter as it reads in the LXX).

II.

These being the facts the twofold question presents itself: Whence do the prophets derive their conviction that the nation is irrevocably doomed? And how is their insistent claim to divine revelation to be explained?

As regards the former point, contrary to the popular view that

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[16] Prophets of Israel, New ed. p. 219; The Old Testament in the Jewish Church, 2nd ed. pp. 288 sq., 297 and cf. also the note on the following page, infra.

considers the rise of the Assyrians sufficient explanation, it must be pointed out, first of all, that however alive the prophets might have been to a sense of the danger threatening from Assyria, they could never, by reason of that alone, have come to the insuperable conviction that the country was lost beyond all hope of preservation. In addition to this, it must be remembered that the rise of the Assyrian power cannot be spoken of until Tiglath-Pileser III.'s accession to the throne in 745. Further, under the rule of his predecessors, Assur-dan III. (773-755) and Assur-nirari (755-745), during which time Amos made his appearance, Assyria's power was on the decline, and even the campaign of Salmanassar III. against Damascus, in the last year of his reign (773), does not seem to have met with success.[17] Like Israel, the Syrian provinces enjoyed, during this space of almost thirty years, complete independence of Assyria, and like Israel, Damascus gained once more the power and rank which she had possessed in the glorious days of her past. Under these circumstances, the prosperity which the country enjoyed under the long, successful and, on the whole, peaceful reigns of Jeroboam II. and Azarjah over Israel and Judah, respectively, would naturally only serve to dispel fear, rather than to stir up gloomy forebodings. We have, then, to go even farther than Smend,[18] not only can Amos' prophecy not be explained by the approach of the Assyrians, just as little can it have been called forth by this event.

Neither is it possible that the conviction of the prophets that the catastrophe was inevitable should have grown, as has been frequently argued (among others by Kuenen,[19] and of recent years

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[17] See Winkler in Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament, 3rd ed. p. 47.

[18] Cf. ib. p. 162, infra, where Smend says, "Veranlasst ist seine Weissagung zweifellos durch das Nahen der Assyrer, aber sie ist daraus nicht zu erklären."

[19] The Prophets and Prophecy in Israel, translated by Milroy, cf. especially pp. 347 sqq. 574.

by G. A. Smith[20]), out of the realization of the nation's moral depravity and guilt. Reflecting on the flagrant wickedness of their people might easily awaken all sorts of anxious fears and misgivings, but it could not possibly lead to the conviction that the nation was inexorably doomed.

Still less could this conviction be derived from the belief in Jhwh's righteousness, as G. A. Smith argues it was in the case of Amos.[21] Smend's remarks on this point cannot be gainsaid: "To whatever extent Israel's guilt might excite Jhwh's anger the corollary that he must destroy Israel could never be derived from Israel's sin. Jhwh might according to the traditional belief chastise his people, but not destroy them. . . . Amos' prophecy was, of course, determined by his belief in divine retribution, but cannot be accounted for by this any more than by the mere fact that Israel was threatened by Assur. Nor can both together suffice to explain the phenomenon."[22]

The inevitable question then is, How can this strange phenomenon be explained? What is it that we have to deal with here?

The only acceptable solution is to assume with Wellhausen,[23] Smend,[24] Giesebrecht,[25] and others, that the prophets possessed, in

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[20] The Book of the Twelve Prophets, vol. I. pp. 89, sqq.

[21] Ib. pp. 51, 96 sqq.

[22] Ib. p. 164, cf. also p. 171.

[23] Israelitsche und jüdische Geschichte (1894), p. 74.

[24] Ib. pp. 164, 171.

[25] Die Berufsbegabung der altestamentlichen Propheten, pp. 14 sq. 72 sqq. Giesebrecht differs, however, from Wellhausen and Smend in an essential point. He assumes that the prophet's prediction of doom is to be explained as resulting from the concurrence of their foreboding with their realization of the moral state of their people (ib. pp. 81 sqq.). Giesebrecht's view, on the one hand, results from a misconception of the problem, on the other, rests on the supposition that the prophetic announcements of judgment are to be looked at as conditional, not as absolute predictions. I shall discuss the error into which Giesebrecht falls here more fully in my above-mentioned treatise and shall but remark here that from Jeremiah's mental

a remarkable degree, that mysterious power of presentiment, of which history has offered us from time to time more or less marvelous examples, that power, possessed by persons of surpassing depth of character and clear, unbiased vision, of perceiving, in moments when the spirit is wrought to a preternatural pitch, the shadows of coming events, usually disastrous ones, and of perceiving them across a present, calculated only to disarm fear and strengthen security. Schiller has given us a masterly description of this power of second sight, as it is often called, in the person of his Cassandra,[26] who alone, amidst the general joy of victory and revelry in celebration of Helena's arrival, feels the tragic irony of the situation, and in agony of spirit sees destruction drawing down upon her people. A famous, and, in connection with prophecy, perhaps the most frequently cited, historical example of this presentient faculty is P. Scipio Æmilianus, who, at the moment when he stood as conqueror upon the smoking ruins of Carthage, predicted the future fall of Rome, roused to this tragic foresight by his consciousness of the effeminacy and deep-rooted degeneracy of his native city.

It was not, then, the realization of Israel's guilt that undermined the prophets' peace of mind, shocked their moral consciousness and brought them to the conviction "long before the political skies were overcast," that their people was doomed. On the contrary, the primary fact in the prophets' consciousness was their sudden inexplicable foreboding of the approaching catastrophe, and from this followed, as they inquired into the cause of the judgment, their awakening to the absolute righteousness of God and the sinfulness of their people.

The explanation of the second point is closely bound up with that of the first. Those who hold that the origin of prophecy is to be seen in moral convictions and ethical intuitions either deny, like

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suffering as briefly sketched above, it may with safety be inferred that the prophets looked forward to the catastrophe as certain.

[26] Cf. poem of the same name.

Kuenen, in spite of all the testimony of the prophets to the contrary, that the prediction of doom, together with the prophets' assurance of divine inspiration, are really the essential features of prophecy,[27] or, like G. A. Smith, fail to explain the problem at all. What the latter has to say in justification of speaking of inspiration and revelation in connection with prophecy,[28] might, as he himself acknowledges, be said with equal right and fitness of every awakening from darkness to light, of every flooding of the spirit with the sacred tide of moral convictions. His explanation simply means the elimination of the problem of inspiration altogether.

We have seen, however, that the prophets' claim to divine revelation is something quite different, both from the poetic afflatus[29] and from the conviction of being inspired by divine truth. Their consciousness of inspiration is, in fact, conditioned by the origin of prophecy in premonition, as we have just explained it, for, by reason of the nature of this phenomenon, in which conscious ideation and reflective purpose have no part, the prophets were bound to conclude that the power above and beyond the individual intelligence was the source of the knowledge arising unsolicited in their minds.[30]

Obviously, too, the convictions to which their foreboding led would but confirm the prophets in their belief that they held communion with God. One need only figure to oneself how disheartened, how stunned they must have been at the revelation of their people's doom, and then consider to what spiritual heights they

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[27] Cf. ib. especially pp. 344 sqq., 359 sq., 362 sqq., 575, 584 sqq.

[28] Ib. pp. 86-91.

[29] Cf. on this point also Robertson Smith, The Old Test. in the Jewish Church, p. 297 and sq., note, who points out the difference between the prophetic consciousness of inspiration and the supposed parallel to the same in the idea entertained by the poets of the Vedic hymns, "that their prayers, praises and ceremonies generally were supernaturally inspired."

[30] Cf. also Giesebrecht, ib. p. 79.

nevertheless rose, in order to understand how, in their insight into spiritual things, not less than in their foresight of material happenings, they believed to see indubitable proof that in their soul they had stood face to face with the eternal God, and harkened to the secrets of His counsel.

It is almost impossible for the cosmopolitan man of our day to have any adequate notion of the immediate effect the realization of their people's doom must have exercised on the prophets, for there is, in modern patriotism, no parallel to the feeling for the fatherland which permeated the man of ancient times for whom personal existence was unthinkable apart from his country. We could have no stronger testimony of this than Jeremiah's description of the mental suffering he endured because it was his lot to foresee the coming ruin of his people.

Even so were the souls of the other prophets rent at the thought of their nation's doom and that they, like Jeremiah, did not succumb under the weight of their foresight, their "revelation," was due to the awakening that took place in their souls as a result of this foreknowledge, the awakening to the real nature and being of God and His relation to men.

This view that the religious ideas and lofty ethics of the prophets are to be looked upon as the reaction of their forebodings upon their souls, is neither fantastic nor improbable. On the contrary, the sudden gigantic progress in religious thought attained by the prophets cannot adequately be accounted for by any other assumption.—It is a common experience that a man's spiritual birth dates from that hour when death entered his circle, claiming sacrifice, for, in order that the deeper sense of life's significance should become part of one, it is essential that one first realize the transiency of earthly existence. It is this experience which underlies the saying: "Der Tod ist die grosse Lehrmeisterin der Menschheit." And if the death of a single loved individual can thus cause the scales to fall from a man's eyes, how much more vitally moved

would not the ancient Israelite be at the premonition that his whole nation was doomed?

It was in consequence of this awakening which the prophets experienced that they realized that the ultimate purpose in their being called must be to pave the way for God's future dominion, that they were but sowing the seed—the harvest would be reaped in some future age. Indirectly they attest to this conviction by their future hope, to which they give expression along with their prediction of doom, while direct testimony, as we have seen above, is furnished by Isaiah and by Jeremiah. The latter, as he is throughout the one of all the prophets most swayed by God's revelation, most possessed by the consciousness of his divine call, bears witness to this conviction again and again by word and deed. The very acme of zealous faith is disclosed to us in ch. xxxii. 1-15 of his book, where he relates how in the face of the siege of the city by the Chaldæans he bought property at the behest of God from his cousin Hanamel, in token of his conviction that the cities would be re-inhabited and the land be cultivated again, and arranged for the preservation of the deed, as a sign of his belief that the future would justify his hopes.

In pointing out the faith and hope which sustained the prophets and enabled them to fulfill their task against all adversities, we have at the same time met the objection which has been raised against the premonition-theory as a whole, as well as the argument brought forward by Giesebrecht against Smend's view, that the prophets look forward to the catastrophe as inevitable. "Why," Giesebrecht asks, "do the prophets not confine themselves to a few brief oracular utterances announcing the threatening disaster? Why do they take such pains to show the people their iniquity and to awaken in them the belief in the approaching disaster? Why do they waste so many words, if they know beforehand that no amount of talking will avail?"[31]

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[31] Ib. p 82.

The answer is that the prophets set out to proclaim God's message, the gospel of deliverance from sin and error, among a doomed people, in order to ensure the realization of the purpose which they believed God pursued in calling them to His service. This holds good even for Amos, who does not formulate any future hope, for the spiritual reality by which they are, one and all, impressed is that God's dominion is a dominion over the universe and that His plan of salvation is not limited to Israel, but includes all mankind.

And since the ultimate purpose of their mission was to pave the way for God's future dominion, they did not content themselves with proclaiming to their contemporaries the revelations they had received, but were solicitous for the preservation of the same for future generations. Thus we learn from Isaiah that he received God's command to write down his prophecies, "so that they might serve as a lasting testimony[32] in the days to come" (ch. xxx. 8), and from the circumstances attending Jeremiah's arrangements for the preservation of his prophecies, we have the clearest proof of the prophetic hope. After twenty-three years of continuous activity, as Jer. ch. xxxvi relates, he had Baruch b. Nerijah write down all the prophecies he had delivered up to that time and had him read them before the people, assembled from all quarters of the country, in the temple at Jerusalem, because he thought the time especially propitious for a last effort to reach the hearts of the people. The sole result of his endeavor was that king Jojakim destroyed the scroll and sought Jeremiah's life. Yet in spite of this apparent proof that his prophecies were ineffectual for his own age, he arranged for a second collection of his prophecies. That he did this with the same motive by which he was actuated when arranging for the preservation of the deed of the land is not mentioned there, but there is a direct statement to this effect in ch. xxx. 2 sq.

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[32] Instead of לְעַד read לעד in accordance with Targ. Pesh. and Vulg.

The awakening of soul, to which, as pointed out in the preceding pages, the foreboding of the Israelitish prophets of the Assyrian and Chaldæan period led, constitutes the radical difference between them and the so-called prophets with whom we are familiar from history. Giesebrecht falls here into error, and indeed into self-contradiction,[33] when he says[34] of the latter, "These men are for their age of similar importance as the prophets are for Israel; the approaching catastrophes of history cast their shadows in their souls," and, consequently, he hits wide of the mark when he continues: "Yet they differ from the Hebrew prophets in that they are far from being as definite as these as to the nature of the crisis, or when they do express themselves definitely, a large element of reflection is noticeable."

Rather such men are to be compared to that Jesus Ananiae of the time of the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, of whom Josephus relates. Four years before the outbreak of the war, and at a time when as yet undisturbed peace and prosperity prevailed in Jerusalem, he appeared there during the Feast of Tabernacles and began of a sudden to cry aloud: "A voice from sunrise, a voice from sunset, a voice from the four quarters of the earth; a voice against Jerusalem and the temple, a voice against bridegroom and bride, a voice against the whole people!" This was his cry, as he went about by day and by night through all the streets of the city. He was arrested, beaten, and finally taken before Albinus, where he was flogged till his bones were laid bare; all this torture he suffered without a groan, but crying out at every stroke of the scourge, "Woe to Jerusalem!" He was thought to be a madman and dismissed. But for the remainder of his life he did not associate or converse with anyone; nor did he curse those who beat him, nor thank those who gave him food. His one reply to every-

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[33] Cf. ib. pp. 14 and 6 where Giesebrecht emphasizes as characteristic of the Israelitish prophets the unbroken succession and historical importance.

[34] Ib. p. 75.

body was: "Woe to Jerusalem!" This cry he kept up continually for seven years and five months until, during the siege of the city, a stone hurled from one of the catapults struck him and silenced him forever.[35] In point of suffering we may well call him, with Wellhausen, "the Jeremiah of his time;"[36] but, unlike Jeremiah and the other prophets, he was borne down by the weight of the premonition which possessed him, because, in his case, it was not attended by any spiritual awakening. He was not granted the prophetic insight into cause and effect, he had no message of hope or consolation to proclaim, no new ideas or saving principles to preach: his premonition was, in fact, utterly barren and futile.

Similarly, Scipio's foreboding of the later fate of Rome, and Leibnitz's utterance in 1703 to the effect that a great revolution was approaching left no impression whatever on history; they were but the visions of wise men bearing no fruit in the sphere either of politics or religion, whereas the presentiments and predictions of the Israelitish prophets stirred up and went hand in hand with a movement which, for intensity and persistence and wide-reaching consequences, stands without parallel in the history of mankind.

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[35] Bell. Jud. lib. VI. ch. 5. § 3.

[36] Israelitische and juedische Geschichte, p. 326.

ZWEI BACHURIM.

VON GUSTAV KARPELES.

WAS ist das ein Bachur? oder vielmehr ein Bocher, wie man heute zu sagen pflegt? Vor etwa fünfzig Jahren hätte man weder in Berlin noch in Cincinnati diese Frage zu stellen gebraucht. Dagegen bin ich fest überzeugt, dass heute sowohl in Berlin wie in Cincinnati von hundert Glaubensgenossen neunundeunzig unter diesem Worte nicht einen Talmudschüler, was es eigentlich bedeutet, sondern einen ungeschickten, hilflosen, weltfremden Menschen verestehen ja man kann wohl sagen, dass diese Nebenbedeutung heute geläufiger ist, wie der wirkliche Sinn des Wortes. Es wäre aber nicht uninteressant zu erfahren, wann die Bezeichnung Bachur (eigentlich Jüngling überhaupt) für Talmudjünger zuerst angewendet wurde. Güdemann hat in seiner vortrefflichen Geschichte des Erziehungswesens und der Kultur der abendländischen Juden (Bd. III. S. 62) die Bachurim des Mittelalters mit den Bachanten in eine kühne, aber geschickte Ideenverbindung gebracht, mit denen sie nicht nur mit dem Namenseinklang, sondern durch ihre Schicksale und Lebenslauf eine sehr nahe Verwandtschaft haben. Der wirkliche Bachur findet sich heute nur noch in Polen und in Ungarn in unverfälschter Echtheit. Schade, dass Karl Emil Franzos und Israel Zangwill nie ein solches Exemplar kennen gelernt haben, denn eine Naturgeschichte desselben wäre höchst interessant für die Darstellung der altjüdischen Kultur. Auf unseren Seminaren und Hochschulen finden sich nur modernisierte

Exemplare dieser Species, die halb Bachur und halb Student sind. Allerdings sind darunter nicht wenige, die von beiden das Beste haben. Und dass es recht viele solcher Bachurim in Berlin und Wien, in Breslau und in Cincinnati immerdar geben möchte, ist mein sehnlichster Wunsch. Aber nicht von diesen Bachurim will ich heute sprechen, sondern von zweien, auf die die Nebenbedeutung des Wortes in sehr komischer Weise angewendet wurde und die weniger in die jüdische, sondern in die allgemeine Litteraturgeschichte gehören—nämlich von *Heinrich Heine* und von *Ludwig Börne*. Wieso aber die beiden berühmten deutschen Schriftsteller zu dieser Bezeichnung gekommen sind, will ich hier kurz erzählen.

Jeder kennt die Antwort die Goethe auf die thörichte Frage gegeben, wer grösser sei, er oder Schiller? "Die Deutschen sollten sich, statt zu fragen, lieber freuen, dass sie zwei so tüchtige Kerle haben!" so ungefähr soll die Antwort des Dichterfürsten gelautet haben.

Diese Antwort fiel mir unwillkürlich ein, als ich unter den Autographenschätzen der Berliner Königlichen Bibliothek einen Brief von *Varnhagen von Ense* an *Eduard Gans*, den berühmten Rechtslehrer, der von Ludwig Börne handelt, von dem Varnhagen, wie es scheint nicht eine so hohe Meinung hatte wie seine Gattin Rahel, die in Börne einen der ersten deutschen Schriftsteller verehrte. Börne war damals gerade in Berlin als Varnhagen einen Brief schrieb, in dem es heisst:

Berlin, 17 Februar 1828.

Sagen Sie, was Sie wollen, Verehrtester, ich wiederhole meinen Spruch mit voller Überzeugung und sage: Börne ist ein eitler, erzeitler Geck und ausser dem Witz und Humor, den er seinem Stamme dankt, ein höchst beschränkter Mensch. Er bezieht alles in der Welt nur einzig auf seine kleine Person, spiegelt sich verstohlen in jeder glatten Fläche, vernimmt und versteht blutwenig und deckt sein linkisches Benehmen mit plumper Keckheit. Er hat gegen Heine eine kindische Eifersucht und boshaften Neid, recht wie ein Krämer gegen den andern, der in gleichen Waaren macht. Er ist—verzeihen Sie mir den Ausdruck—Sie wissen, ob

ich ein *Rosche* bin!—der *ächte Frankfurter Bachur* mit allen Fehlern eines solchen, vielleicht auch Tugenden, wie deren es hier giebt!—Er war bei uns zu Tisch. Wie albern, wie langweilig! Rahel war für ihn die Güte selbst; ich aber konnte nicht umhin, seine Bresten zu striegeln, was er sehr übel empfand und gewaltige Gesichter dazu schnitt. Als ich ihn später wegen seiner Dummheit in Betreff unserer Jahrbücher ernstlich zurecht setzte, wusste er garnichts zu entgegnen, stotterte nur ungewaschenes Zeug und verrieth etwas Angst; er jammerte mich.—Was Ihre Absicht betrifft, ihn für unsere Jahrbücher doch noch anzuwerben, so erkläre ich mich meinerseits auf das Bestimmteste dagegen. Wir hätten keinen Gewinn von ihm, sondern nur Verdruss. Hegel ist auch dieser Meinung. Wie gesagt, ich protestiere gegen jeden Schritt, den Sie in jener Absicht etwa thun möchten. Sagen Sie das Rahel nicht, die würde mich schelten. Sie und Ludwig Robert wollen ihn ungeachtet der offenbaren Mängel durchaus nicht preisgeben. Sie kennen Rahels Eingenommenheit und ganz überschwängliche Nachsicht für solche Menschen, in denen sie einmal einen guten Kern erkannt zu haben glaubt. Dass ein solcher in ihm steckt, will ich nicht bestreiten, aber heraus mit ihm aus der Schale! Sonst ist er nicht mehr werth als eine taube Nuss. Lassen wir ihn seiner Wege gehen, das ist das Beste! Leistet er was tüchtiges, wer erkennt es lieber an als ich?

Adieu für heute! Wir sehen uns doch bald?

In treuester Hochachtung Ihr

K. A. Varnhagen von Ense.

Zur Erläuterung dieses Briefes ist nur wenig zu sagen. Börne hat von Varnhagen noch weniger gehalten als dieser von ihm. Man kann es heute wohl aussprechen: das Urtheil Varnhagens über Börne war ungerecht und von Übelwollen diktiert.

Was uns aber an dem Briefe Varnhagens—der ja in der That nicht nur kein Rosche, sondern eher das Gegentheil war—ganz besonders interessiert, das ist der Ausruck: Börne sei "der echte Frankfurter Bachur mit allen Fehlern eines solchen!" Unwillkühr-

lich fiel mir dabei ein Urteil Ludwig Börnes über *Heinrich Heine* ein, das nur Wenigen bekannt sein dürfte, denn es findet sich nur in einer längst verschollenen Brochüre: "Ludwig Börnes Urtheil über H. Heine." (Frankfurt a. M. 1840). Es sind ungedruckte Stellen aus Börnes "Briefen aus Paris" und eine dieser Stellen lautet:

Paris, Samstag den 8. Oktober 1831.

Ja, mit dem Heine ist es merkwürdig, wie ich mich getäuscht habe. Ich werde Ihnen etwas von ihm sagen, was Sie wundern wird. Heine ist ein *vollkommener Bachur!* Wie er das geworden, oder vielmehr als geborener Jude geblieben, ist mir ganz unerklärlich. Er hat die regelmässigste Erziehung und einen viel geordneteren Schulunterricht genossen als ich selbst. Er hat ganz die jüdische Art zu witzeln und opfert einem Witz nicht blos das Recht und die Wahrheit, sondern auch die eigene Überzeugung auf."

Ist das nun nicht köstlich? Varnhagen schimpft Börne einen Bachur, und dieser beehrt Heine mit demselben Epitheton! Wer war nun eigentlich von den Beiden ein Bachur?

Börne hat in seiner Jugend Hebräisch gelernt, Heine nur sehr wenig. Dagegen hat Börne in seinem Alter alles vergessen, und Heine hat in seinem Alter mehr gewusst als in seiner Jugend. Börne hatte in der zweiten Hälfte seines Lebens katholisierende Neigungen, Heine ist an seinem Lebensabend wieder ganz Jude gewesen und hat dies offen und rückhaltlos Jedem erklärt, der ihn auf seiner Matratzengruft besuchte. Wer war nun eigentlich von Beiden ein Bachur? Ein hübsches Thema für eine Preisaufgabe oder Doktordissertation. Bis jene gelöst oder diese geschrieben ist, wollen wir uns aber, nach dem grossen Beispiel Goethes, freuen, dass aus der alten Judengasse zwei so tüchtige Bachurim hervorgegangen sind, wie Ludwig Börne und Heinrich Heine.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN MODERN JUDAISM.

BY LOUIS GROSSMANN.

WHENEVER a question becomes public, it is near to being settled. That is, whenever everybody feels himself called upon to serve society, then either one of two things happens: either the matter is compromised (for common people can do nothing better than compromise), or it is disposed of by passion and whim. The history of national issues is a series of such alternatives between listlessness which contents itself with the least expenditure of mind and trusts to fate, and the restless and fine spirit which dares to grapple with difficulties and meets them, if not with caution, at least with moral stamina. Now, education is one of the national interests, in which Americans have oscillated between indifference and zeal. At present, for instance, we are in the midst of a campaign for moral training, and it would not be easy to determine the will of the people as to this. Politicians are revising the school laws and clergymen are re-affirming that the Bible must be read and a prayer offered at school sessions unless we wish to have a Godless nation by and by.

The educational question will decide the character of the coming American culture. Political questions are not half as important, and it is conceivable that our public business may proceed smoothly under some other academic form of government; nor need we fear differences we have with respect to religious sects. We can meet exigencies with which we are face to face; we can get them under our control, and we can check them. But it is otherwise with school questions; they have consequences that are subtle. The

school works for the coming generation, and educational policy fixes the national mind and the national morals. We household not merely our own affairs, but also the affairs of those who will be the Americans in twenty-five and in fifty years.

We are passing through a critical period of national education, and it seems we fail to appreciate it. We have had sufficient notice, and signs of the storm have not been wanting. As far back as 1870, in the famous Cincinnati Board of Education case, we were given notice that the question is on, and we should have seen then the cloud of the storm. The city of Dayton is now under its shadow, and it broke recently over Canada and Wisconsin and Colorado, Iowa and New York. The Evangelical Alliance in the city of Cincinnati is deliberating on the subject of Bible in the Public Schools and the women of the clubs all over the country are being enlisted, as is seen in the recently reported proceedings of the Federated Clubs at St. Louis. On all sides, there is considerable insistance that, according to Christian, Catholic as well as Protestant, conviction, our schools are Godless. The Methodists' Congress in California broached the subject and the sentiment prevailed that something must be done. The writer himself has passed through such a campaign in a case which has become part of the history of this movement, and he knows that there is in this agitation for religious teaching in the Public Schools much zeal, some fanaticism and a good deal of insinuating plausibility. The churches have revived their plea not for religion outright, nor for any special form of it, but for morality, and morality is often taken to be an incident of religion. The churches indict the Public Schools as failures with respect to moral results. They assert that the religious tone in this country is decadent, and that the present generation is deficient in moral stamina, and they blame the Public Schools. Dr. Thwing, of Western Reserve University, shows that the young men and women are ignorant in Biblical and religious commonplaces. Professor Scott, of Michigan, draws up a very uncomplimentary census as to the religion of college students, and Dr. Josiah Strong gives statistics with

accumulative effect, which are disheartening to lovers of our country, and gratifying to the new reformers. I venture to predict that we shall have a national issue on this matter of Public School reform within the next ten years, and that it will be as vehement as any national issue has ever been.

I say that we have had our warnings. We have had the temperance question, for instance; we drove it out of business, but it is ensconced in the schools. In a number of states the young are even yet regaled with pious inculcations of the fact that alcohol is a poison. In England there is a similar tinkering with the school question, and they have the quaint experience, that, having yielded to the importunities of the Temperance League, the temperance teachers have made themselves liable to the law because they gave the children moral precepts, a procedure which was an invasion of a territory reserved to the specialist of ethics. It is asserted that the modern child is a heathen, that he lacks finer sentiments, and that, though educational technique is quite up to date, nothing is done for character, and that there is nothing in favor of the public schools except the vague notion that the pupils get a kind of democratic equality, that the free contact somehow liberalizes them. But the advocates of moral reform urge that this democratization is inconsiderable. They say that children in other countries are equally tolerant, and that the pupils in parochial and private schools acquire courtesy, if not religiousness, such as pupils of the public schools do not get. They declare that our teaching is materialistic and needs idealization, and they promise that teaching in courtesy, patriotism, reverence, humaneness, charity, and the like, would refine the character of the next generation.

These enthusiasts claim that the fault they advert to is inherent in the system of public-school instruction, because it is dominantly secular. There is need of patriotic leagues to teach patriotism, and the State Boards of New York, Ohio, and others, distribute text-books on patriotism. So also we have tracts as to prevention of cruelty to animals, and we have societies of children

to foster various kinds of sentimentalities—down even to the sweeping of the streets and the picking up of litter. Perhaps you will remember also the church militarism that swept over our country some years ago, when every church mustered a corps of cadets, and rifles hung at the side of altars, and young Americans were drilled into patriotism by priests and deacons. A clever Englishman, speaking of these attempts to make the nation moral by the administration of educational specifics, says as to these "spasms": "The Jesuits, at least, sat down and planned out a definite system of education; but we leave things to tradition and chance;" and, I add, we leave them to whims and moods. We shall have, perhaps, an anti-smoke campaign soon, and I expect gentlemen with vests up to their necks and certain unoccupied ladies will deliver impressive harangues on the evils of smoking, and on the demoniac qualities of nicotine, and young America will be dutifully edified till class is dismissed.

Let us be fair enough to credit these zealots with some reasonable appreciation of conditions. What does this specialists' crusade imply? We concede that our public schools are deficient, and that they have a materialistic tone. Let us say that the teacher aims in the spirit of a democratic education to give his pulpils information and some mental training, recognizing that the modern man needs these mainly. The moral training, however, that is being pleaded for so strenuously, does not lie in subjects chosen as specifically moralizing, but in the educational content of all of them. It is true the public schools are under the thrall of a commercial conception of life; subjects are taught for practical use, and not for ennoblement of personality. History, geography and science are treated like reading and writing and counting, as mechanical accomplishments. History is not taught as the tragedy of the race constituting the hunger after justice. The fewest teachers, and such only as are genial by nature rather than by training, teach with an eye upon life, and reading, writing, history, geography, and the rest, are taught as ends and not as means for the cultural development of the child. The teacher

does not strive to stir interest and moral judgment and will. Since the traditional school curriculum does nothing for growth, reformers reason, can we not teach also virtue at least as we teach geography and spelling and arithmetic? All that is needed is a text-book and an additional hour. The child has a text-book for geography, for spelling, for arithmetic; well, then, we will give him a text-book on virtue and goodness and courtesy and the rest. Mangasarian wrote up one for Chicago children; Gould also, Sheldon for St. Louis; McCune and Thorndike and a "League of Moral Instruction" in England.

Children must obey their parents. This is explained, illustrated by an appropriate text, even out of pagan literature. Stanton Coit has compiled a good deal of ethical literature, and stories and anecdotes abound. At least we do our duty thus.

But it does not occur to these crusaders that ethics per se, abstract ethics is not in the life of the child, beatific ethics reads nicely, but it has no blood, it is not real morality. Nor does it occur to them that the morals of childhood are absolutely different from the morals of adult manhood and womanhood. Science has laid down one indisputable fact—child-life and adult-life are different in kind, and no person has any standing among thinking men today who still talks of children as if they were men and women of small stature. John Dewey said, in another connection: Education is not a preparation for life; it is life. And I enlarge his statement of fact by adding, Childhood is life, other than adult life, and is not a parallel to matured life. Generalities violate the fundamental law of pedagogy, and must be ruled out of court.

Instruction by apothegm and story is never systematic, and a story is not a lesson; it may be an illustration, but it is not an end in itself. Texts may edify, and the story may illuminate, but text and story are out of selected life, not of real life. The child does not need these pretty fictions in the actual world. Mock heroism and stage-nobility are educational will-o'-the-wisps. Again some believe in the saving grace of chance and that experience offers problems in opportune ways; but opportunism is a policy

that cannot be honestly defended, and is a sin against the very elements of pedagogy.

Some say that moral instruction is designed to forestall. We teach honesty against the day of temptation; we tell of the shame that attends lying to forewarn against it, and so on as to all the possible offenses children commit. It is clear on lines of this why certain French Manuals of Moral Instruction contain warnings against suicide.

To be sure, parents are much given to this sort of indiscriminate and cautionary moralizing. They feed the souls of their children with spasmodic rations of sagacious prognostication, and they are convinced that some day their children will rise to bless them, in the days, that is, when they hope this teasing will come back to them as a sweet reminiscence. But all the while they starve the children by failing to supply self-emancipation, which these need without delay, the only kind of moral ripening that is reliable. The average parent is merely an apprentice in the matter of moralizing, and the Greeks were not unwise when they disposed of this domestic amateurism by a bold stroke of state paternalism. We Jews do better, by the parents and by the children. The Jewish children remain where children ought to be during the years in which they need affection and domestic environment, and we flood the Jewish home with currents of feeling. We support the hands of the parents by habits and customs and Judaize all of the conditions and influences. We must have two things in mind when we undertake to teach right conduct. We must present truthfully the world and human life and human character, and we must also have imagination and see with the eyes of the child. An unimaginative teacher is unfit just as much as is an ignorant teacher. No one should undertake to teach children unless he sees as they see and can live in the child-world. He who enters this child-world will find there a child-morality also. A good test of a tolerable teacher is whether, for instance, he can appreciate child-humor; he must be able to laugh with children; he must appreciate what pleases and what displeases them. He

must enter into child-pathos and child-humor and child-faith and child-religion.

I have now to mention the kind of instruction which preoccupies the field, through no proven merit and largely by reason of a voluntarily granted prestige—the religious school, the Sabbath school, the Sunday school, as it is variously called. It has had its inception in the missionary spirit. Public opinion is on its side, though it has given no uncontested proof of its efficiency, nor made out clearly just what relation it has to general education. So far as we can trace its origin, it is a device of Christendom within recent centuries, since the collapse of scholasticism and of the clerical schools. It now supplements the secular form of education, which the church stigmatizes as altogether inadequate. Without referring to the fight which subsists and will for some time to come continue to subsist between Church and State, the existence of Sabbath schools implies a rebuke to the public school system. The parochial schools of the Catholic church, though they are alien to the American spirit in matters of religion and education, are at least more explicable and defensible on grounds of the Catholic view. They are maintained because the Church wishes to secure continuity for its traditions. Tradition is a potent influence and an effective educator, while the results of secular instruction are uncertain. Hospitality to instruction comes from subtle feelings which are ingrained by tradition. Children bring to the Sabbath-school a considerable fund of information and of religious sentiment. Their environment is saturated with religious notions and religious feelings, with moral notions and moral feelings, and that is tradition. It is only a step from this to the claim of the Catholic church that culture is religion and that education must be religious. Only that as religion must drop all metaphysics, so pedagogy must rule out abstractions. Children react against right and wrong according to child notions, and it requires insight into child life and child thought when we address them on such high topics as God and the the world and justice. It is to be wondered that the denomina-

tions exist still to-day, considering the confusion of thought as to how they teach their creeds.

Since Christianity depends largely on Sabbath-school instruction, the spiritual decline of Christianity in the open world can not long be delayed, for where there is no substance of tradition there must be decadence. Tradition is the only guarantee that a nation or a community will continue; but Christianity has no tradition. We Jews know the force of tradition from stern experience. Tradition has saved us; tradition puts its hand on every fibre of our being. It is in our way of thinking, it is in our way of feeling. The centuries-long manner of our life and our fight and pathos and our hopes and our isolation and our humiliation and our martyrdom and our hunger for God and fellow-men, have made us the "peculiar people." Tradition is our soul. But Christianity has not so seized hold of its confessors. Christianity is poor in tradition, poor as Christian tradition. The history of civilization is not Christian. Literature is not Christian. Even art is not Christian, it is often anti-Christian, so much so that we have an unchristian Christ on canvas and in marble, and a literature of protest. Christianity has failed to lodge itself in the flesh and soul of men. But Judaism has indeed become flesh and blood. Christianity is Christian theology plus paganism, and often the paganism is the more insistent part. The most unchristianized Christians are in Rome, and it is a true saying of Buckle's, that loyalty to the Church is in inverse ratio to the distance from Rome. The most strenuous outbursts of piety occur in phlegmatic Germany, while the orthodoxy of the Spaniard and the French is coincident with demoralization and the lack of national spirit. Christianity is with most of its confessors largely an academic affair, a theologic opinion and a form of philosophy; but philosophy and academic subtleties can not make nations. The Gallic Christian is more Gallic than Christian and the Lutheran German is more Teutonic than Christian under stress of excitement. In this country, Unitarians, those washed out Christians, shed their Christianity without much disturbance of senti-

ment. The varieties of Christianity, and they are manifold, have failed to create a type of individuality. Catholics lapse into Protestantism and Protestants lapse back into Catholicism without so much as a whit of alteration in their personality. So also Christianity has failed to construct a social character of its own. Henry VIII. de-Catholicised England, but England is after Henry VIII. what England was, in law, government and the rest, before him. And as to Christian psychology, that pessimistic quality which is a peculiar attendant on the doctrine of original sin, seems to have signally failed to establish itself outside the churches. There is not a nation professing Christianity to-day which has not by the sane sense of life rebelled against the doctrine of original sinfulness. The history of the twenty centuries is not Christian at all; it might with more justice be called anti-Christian. Nations and governments have striven to de-Christianize themselves, to liberalize, to establish autonomy, to dethrone kings and to enthrone the people. There is an independent Christian theology, but there is no Christian tradition.

All this is opposite to the facts of the Jewish people; at the heart of that is an effective religious genius. The Jewish way of thinking is a form of Jewish character; Jewish feeling is manifestly grounded on Jewish experience, which has been unique. Jews react against the world in a recognizable way. Jewish taste, the Jewish moral taste, comes from world-training, in world-wide discipline. Jewish conviction has been beaten into Jewish nature on the anvil of a terrible but educational history. We are a homogeneous people, the most homogeneous people in the civilized world. And we are homogeneous despite the dispersion, despite the varieties of languages (languages separate and alienate), in spite of differences of political allegiance, homogeneous deep down in soul. The child, born into a Jewish family, has a living Judaism, a Judaism of flesh and blood, not a theology, not a creed, not an abstraction. We maintain our tradition consciously, we do what nature does everywhere—shape out of the parent life the form of the new. This is the fact of our classic heredity. Despite the

eventful centuries that have elapsed, Jewish child nature is not much other now than it was in the days of Jesus. Some one, for instance, has shown this by a very interesting investigation as to the songs and lullabys that are sung by children and mothers in Palestine now-a-days. According to the conservatism of oriental custom, these are probably the very songs Jesus sang and heard. I made a similar examination of Russo-Jewish children, with respect to their sense of home, their obedience and other moral traits and I found that the parallel the traits of the mediæval Jew, for, indeed, the conditions of these resemble one another. There is a type of Jewish character is in our boys and girls rather than in and of Jewish womanhood. And since childhood is closer to the facts of simple nature, while adults are farther from it, maintaining themselves by adjustments, I dare even assert that the type of Jewish character is in our boys and girls rather than in our men and women. These acquire a second nature, as it were, through the constraint of conditions, while childhood comes out of the lap of heredity. The fact is that we know a good deal about the Jewish people as represented in adults, but we know little of Jewish children and youths and adolescents. Scientists tell us the type of a race rests not in adult life but in child-life. The differentiating features come out after puberty, at the period when the individual goes his own way. Jewish youth accordingly, acquires the peculiarities which Christians stigmatize at the time when the world begins to press in on him. If he could unfold his original nature, if the Jewish youth could enter upon the professions without fear and without frown, under no sneer and slur, if he would not need to fight a fight no other youth must fight, if he were not constrained to secure tolerance others get without the asking, if his genius were not wasted in vexations, I do not know what he could not achieve! He has moral power, by reason of home influence and communal spirit, and through tradition.

All this I say by way of contrast between Judaism and Christianity, and this again in order that I might show why Christian churches are forced to teach their religion in special ways, having

failed to lodge a specific tone of life in the soul of their children. If any one is still doubtful as to the fact, let him remember how easily Christians shift their sectarian affiliations. Christians often put aside their profession of faith as they put away inconveniences, out of passion or for some wish. My experience of twenty years shows that Christians have little scruple for conversion to Judaism when they marry into Jewish families; and I know of not one instance of the converse, that a Jew or Jewess repudiated Judaism or Jewish kindred for the sake of intermarriage. Jews have a conscience about their religion and their kinship, which is not always intense, but always inalienable. We Jews do not bid for loyalty; we give it unconsciously, irresistibly. It is elemental in us. I might almost say, reflex, a part of our constitution. No school, no Sabbath school, no amount of formal instruction, can do better or as well.

Christianity is making public confession today that it has not been able to achieve the like. It concedes that it has been harsh in the interpretation of God and man; it will no longer libel human nature as primordially sinful, nor God as refinedly vindictive; it is reconstructing its creed and modernizing it. Still, though it may repudiate the condemnation of unbaptized infants to eternal torments, the Westminster Confession and the verbal inspiration of Scriptures, the scandal is irretrievable when it acknowledges that its morality is decadent.

Presidents of noted Colleges and Universities declare that youths are not what they ought to be and the cry is going up from all directions in Christendom that something must be done. A few years ago they tried athletics. It was fashionable to talk of muscular Christianity, it was hoped that a sound body would help to make sound the soul. But the regeneration did not come. Clergymen complain that men do not attend worship, Christian clergymen who have all in their favor, a free day, free pews, fashion and even the law! On all sides you hear the sneer of the laity that religion is becoming a matter of femininity and effeminateness. The Bible-agitation, the crusade to force the Bible into the public

schools, is simply a sign of the fact that Christianity knows that it has come to a desperate pass.

Now all this is suggestive to the observer, but there is an additional feature of interest in this to the teacher. The Bible is suggested as a branch of study but not as other subjects have been. It is not presumed that the Bible is a text-book as other books are; it is recommended on a score of a supposed power all its own. The reading of it will communicate religiousness and morality, it is held, in a subtle way, a sort of spiritual infection, a mystic influence. It is claimed the Bible is a sacred book, but in pedagogy we cannot speak of some subjects as sacred and some other subjects as secular and profane. The terms have meaning in theology, but they have none in education. We deny that the Bible can be taught by a method other than that by which other subjects are taught. The Bible does not have mystic qualities in the class-room. In the hand of the teacher it is, like the rest, subject to the same laws of treatment.

It is pious arrogance to claim exemption for Bible instruction. The Bible is a tool for culture or it is nothing, it is a means and not an end. It cannot contravene laws of educational psychology. It rests upon the civilization of the race, on known experiences and on known laws of thought and feeling, and is employed for known purposes in the life of the pupils. The Woman's Educational Union, which I fought at one time through the courts of a great State, was on safe ground. It insinuated its text-book "Bible-Readings" into the public schools on the plea that the King James' translation of the Bible it gave, is classical English, which might serve as a reader just as well as any other compilation and from it the pupils would get morals as well as literature. Of course, the good women of the "Educational Union" did not see, as little as even some parents and some theologians see, that every subject is assigned a place in a plan of study for what moral efficacy it has. History is taught because it refines the sense of manhood and womanhood, it tells of heroism and fellowship and social order. We teach geography, because it widens

the horizon of interests, enlarges vision and sympathies, stirs and disciplines the spirit of adventure, makes vivid the enterprise which the next generation will live by. We teach the biographies of great men and of great women so that the young people may pattern after them. We teach literature to deepen thought and clarify it and to establish intellectual communication between the minds and the hearts of the young with those thinkers and poets who had elevated thought and sentiment. I cannot stop to count up all the benefits; but, whatever they are, they are designed for moral use. It is not to be denied that, for this, the Bible is material of the highest efficacy, but what it gives is to be employed according to educational standards and according to no other. The Bible cannot hold a special place in the curriculum on the plea that it is sacred, since no object can be exclusive in the democracy of studies. The Bible is either a text-book, like every other text-book, or it is a sacrament of the church, but, as such, its place is in the shrine.

We Jews are not involved in this alternative. We have neither urged the Bible for use in the public schools, nor do we appraise it by other criteria than those of classical literature; we have put our soul into it, our history and our aspirations. We teach what it contains; that is, we give our history and our ideals to the new life by such methods of teaching as we know.

The Jewish Sabbath school is instituted in the interest not of general culture, not even for the purposes of religious culture. Judaism flows into young lives from many sides and the children bring Judaism with them into the class-room at their registration, a fund of sentiment, habits and an abundance of sub-conscious Jewish facts. We know the generation which is sent to us into the Sabbath School will do for itself and for mankind what previous generations in Israel have done, and we do not worry. We feel we have a great future as we have had a great past, and we tell our youth of our dignity and of the struggles we have had to maintain that dignity. We stir the latent pride and ideals and send the children forth into the world to further the cause which is satisfactory to ourselves and necessary to mankind.

Not so the Sabbath Schools of the churches; they are designed to make converts. Christians are never sure of their youths, they proselytize, they forestall lapses, they suspect providence. Christian Sabbath Schools have no confidence in their work, it is all a bother about personal salvation of this child and that child; it is pastoral and has no sweep of vision. The Jewish teacher aims at big things; he looks beyond the head of the single child, at the Jewish people and beyond that at the world.

We have accordingly, on the one hand, a mere confession, along with a false pedagogy to enforce it, and on the other a people on the highway of the earth, with romanticism and idealism, with genius and unperturbed saneness, striving with large grasp after the high things in life. But of that politicians who defer to church voters and Evangelical Alliances and "Educational alliances" who publish "Bible Readers for Public Schools," do not stop to think.

STRAY LEAVES FROM A NOTE-BOOK.

Δεῖ γαρ ἴσως ὑποτοπῶσαι πρῶτον, εἶθ ὕστερον ἀναγράψαι.

"The Warfare of Thought"

—מלחמתה של תורה— What a suggestive Phrase! Thousands of thoughts are projected by thousands of minds. These necessarily come into collision among themselves as well as with those bequeathed by the dead. For in the realm of thought the dead must be reckoned with. Sometimes a fierce battle ensues, sometimes an amicable settlement, a compromise, is reached. At other times the unfriendly hosts will agree to an armed truce for a season. Each may want to reconnoiter and ascertain its resources for attack or defence. In these warfares there are principals and allies of greater or less attachment. Many of these care but little for the original *casus belli,* but take sides for various ulterior purposes. All sorts of irrelevant, secondary or local considerations will often determine the temporary issue of a battle or skirmish. The weapons are tongue and pen; and many a mental map is changed in consequence of some decisive engagement, boundaries removed or established, provinces united or forever separated, allegiances strengthened or transferred,—very much like in political warfare. And the victors are obviously the fittest. Are they also the truest, the noblest?

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Intellectualism

When culture reaches a certain height, it may be considered ripe; when it goes beyond, it is overripe. The cultivation of the intellect having outstripped that of the character, the former ceases to be subservient to the latter (as it would be in a condition of health), and

becomes dominating. The virtues of truthfulness, justice, independence, manliness—both in rule and obedience—in brief the elemental virtues springing from the will, the character, are weakened and replaced by subtlety, acumen, refinement, criticism and ultimately cynicism. When things reach such a pass they cannot go on much longer. They tend to disintegration. The structure of society cannot be built on intellectualism. The attempts to prop up the tottering edifice are doomed to futility because of a failure to appreciate the essential nature of the trouble. In such times, individuals have been known to seek refuge in other religions; especially in antiquity, when "religion" had a larger connotation than at present, and corresponded to our "civilization." Judaism compared with Greek civilization was less "worldly" and therefore healthier. It naturally attracted many proselytes. But it was the Judaism of the diaspora, remote from the center of the contending schools at home, with their logomachies, and quibbles, and subtleties and shibboleths; it was this Judaism, *because* of its lack of "learning," that held firmly to the salient, healthy, simple features of its heritage, and which offered precisely that which Grecian culture was wanting. But Judaism at home was in its own peculiar way suffering from a disease not altogether unlike that of the Greek world. Its primitive prophetic simplicity, which had cooperated with the elemental forces of character, had to submit to compromise and dilution with non-prophetic elements, which, with the fatality of a disease-germ, evoked a complex casuistry, a vain and quibbling subtlety—the same old canker of intellectualism, though in a different form.

The Haggada

The Haggada is the work of genial minds though of second rate quality, who, unequal to the task of creating, satisfy themselves with commenting on, and embellishing, what somebody else has created.

It abounds in elements which can only be characterized as mythological, whose subject-matter, as is the case in all mythology, is not necessarily religious, though dealing with religious material.

Its eschatological and other-worldly character is, perhaps, due to the fact that the times when it originated were hard and cheerless, so that the imagination naturally took refuge in utopian fancies, and not, as Schürer thinks, "to a weakened religious power, which no longer sees the grace and glory of God in the present earthly world, but only in the future, heavenly world."

It is, perhaps, safe to conjecture that the coincidences between some rabbinic haggadas and Alexandrian speculation are due primarily to a chance confluence of two mutually independent streams of thought. On the rabbinic side the convergence may have begun with a fanciful interpretation of Scripture; on the Hellenistic side, with an arbitrary interpretation of philosophy. As the spheres of theology and philosophy are considerably interpenetrating, it is hardly likely that in the mass of subjects with which both deal there should not be some, where the exegetic fancies of the one will happen to coincide with the speculative vagaries of the other. If to this contact of ideas, natural enough under ordinary circumstances, we add the extraordinary circumstance of the existence of a contingent of men who are as much Jews as Greeks—which was the case with Philo and his *Gesinnungsgenossen*—the entire phenomenon becomes inevitable.

There need be no borrowing by one from the other, but a meeting of similar ideas, a mutual recognition, a joyous surprise and reciprocal confirmation. Thus when the Jewish theologian, brooding over the personality of the Messiah, finds in לפני שמש ינון שמו the doctrine of his premundane existence, while the Alexandrian philosopher, brooding over the problem of creation, arrives at the Logos idea; how natural, that, when the philosopher and the theologian happen to be united in one person, the resultant should be something like an identification of the Messiah with the Logos.

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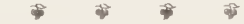
History

History is the offspring of the imperfection of the race. At any point of it some Truth or Right struggle against some Error or Wrong. The truth does not always prevail, nor error either. What generally happens is a sort of compromise, a fusion of the

contending elements. But as the least admixture of error renders truth untrue, while ever so large an admixture of truth will not convert error into truth, it follows that *practically* error gets the best of the combat most of the time. . . It seems therefore unsafe to argue for a Truth or a Right from historic premises. Achieve your philosophic standpoint by other than historic avenues, and from it as from a throne dare to judge history. Do not let the brute fact, simply because it has triumphed, usurp the sacred prerogative of the human soul.



אליה וקוץ בה

It is claimed in certain quarters that Christianity did a service to the world, and especially to Judaism, in doing away with bloody sacrifices. But it should be remembered, judging by the practice of the Essenes, that to a strict Jew the sacrificial cult ceased to be indispensable already during the first pre-Christian century. It was therefore quite safe to leave the eventual abolition of "sacrifices" to historic evolution, without encumbering the world with such questionable substitute as a priest after the order of Melchizedek, a perpetual atonement, a lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world, and a mode of divine worship consisting largely in "the common people seeing God made and eaten all day long."

Orthodoxies

Orthodoxy is naturally exclusive. If my "doxy" is right, all others must be wrong. We are all orthodox where we form definite opinions. It may shock us to discover the fact, but it is a fact nevertheless, and an inevitable one; and there is no use to quarrel with it. We do, however, lose patience, when these orthodoxies, of which there is quite a variety, foist themselves on Judaism, as if they alone were its quintessence. Here is M. Darmesteter, a gentleman who happens to be a professed disciple of Renan, one who would take no

offense at being called infidel, if the term were merely descriptive. In these tolerant days we can agree to let M. Darmesteter disagree with us. But we must object to his unloading on the all-suffering Jew—the Jew of all history—the burden of his own infidelity. "The Jew—he tells us—has been the teacher of unbelief . . . he has labored in the immense worship of blasphemy" (Coup d'OEil sur l'Histoire du Peuple Juif). Another Jew, who is antinomian, racks his ingenuity to prove that the People of the Law have been pre-eminently the People of No Law. A third, enamoured of Rationalism, will have us believe that Judaism has never been anything but rationalistic. In the American Jewish Pulpit, a presumably authoritative publication, a Rabbi assures us, in a strain worthy of Col. Ingersoll, that the Jew always hated religious humility. Examples could be multiplied *ad libitum*. Now, this procedure is unworthy of serious men. Ride your hobbies, if you must, but have some respect for history. עקיבא עד מתי אתה מעוות עלינו את הכתובים

Why not have the courage to say, Judaism was mystic for a considerable time; at another period the prevailing tone was rationalistic, or casuistic, or prophetic, or what not; and that you, gentlemen of the twentieth century are neither of these, but something different? Suppose you tell the exact truth about the Gaonic age, will any sane man hold you in duty bound to reproduce, in the days of the World's Congress of Religions, the spirit of Rab Hai and Rab Sherira? What catastrophe would happen if you frankly admitted that Maimonides, say, was a rationalist, or Besht a Mystic, or the author of Ecclesiastes a Pessimist, or that some of the Prophets had Socialistic leanings? It would only go to show the inclusiveness of Judaism and the many-sidedness of the Jewish mind. Your particular hobby will, of course, not be strengthened by such considerations, but neither would it be weakened. It would still be able, however to rest on its own bottom, and stand or fall according as it does or does not approve itself to the conscience, the reason, the higher and deeper experiences of the people you mean to reach.

Infallibility

The Jewish genius seems to have been daunted by the *revealed* Bible. Buckle tells us that the Hindoo's inactivity and quietism are largely the result of the overawing grandeur of his natural surroundings. In the presence of the titanic scale of Nature's manifestations his will is cowed and crushed. He looks at the range of the Himalayas, and despairs of ever conquering *that!* Has not something similar, in a measure, happened with the Jew, in the intellectual world? The voice of a God speaking articulately in his Bible seems to have silenced all other voices into awed whispers. Who dares speak when a God is speaking? Who has a chance to be heard when a God is thundering? What mortal will try issues with Jehovah? Has He not delivered himself once and forever, say, on Cosmogony, and who will dare to know more about the creation of a world than the creator himself? What remains for man to do but, in fear and trepidation, to try, to the best of his ability, to understand the meaning of that which can only be infallible? Do you happen to be interested in tracing the primitive history of man? —Open the book of Genesis and there it is! Would you unravel a theory of conduct?—Here again turn to the infallible Book, and there it is, full fledged, positive, final. How can man under the circumstances be original, attempt to do something of his own? What, compete with the omniscient? The mere thought is madness! And so the unmistakable Jewish genius was simply deterred from exercising its own originality, and, humbled and subdued, was relegated to the inferior task of exegete, apologete, compiler. Thus that fatal principle arose הפך בה והפך בה דכלא בה ומנה לא תזוע Hence the humilitating spectacle of a literature of some two thousand years without one truly original book. What is the Mishna but a commentary upon the Bible? What the Gemara but a commentary upon the Mishna? What are Philo's works but a desperate attempt to read Platonism into the Bible by means of a preposterous exegesis? When later, as was but inevitable, divergent points of view were encountered, the utmost that was attempted was either to Judaize the heathen, or dilute the Juda-

ism,—an unfortunate proceeding either way, condemning both the philosophy and the exegesis to hopeless mediocrity.

Criticism alone, rational (not rationalistic) and fearless criticism, is capable of coping adequately with this evil. The Higher Criticism will not rob Humanity of the Bible, but, removing the incubus of infallibility, will restore to the world a humanized classic, and to the Jew a product of his own native genius, which while studying he may judge, while deeply admiring he may strive to emulate, if not to excel.

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Pseudepigrapha

Some moderns affect to find it hard to reconcile their own ideas of literary veracity with the literary forgeries of the Jewish Alexandrians, such as the Letter of Aristeas, the Sybiline poems, the poem of Phokylides, the writings of Aristobulus, etc.

But let us imagine that a modern African missionary thought he could wean a tribe of savages from cannibalism by means of a successful literary forgery. Does any one think, that he would have serious scruples about trying it? It only remains to be remembered, that to the Jew idolatry was the worst conceivable abomination, and all the rest is easy to understand. To the modern man, especially to your somewhat skeptical Jewish historian of the critical school, Judaism was, at best, but "a rival point of view," To such a one, the issue between Judaism and Heathenism has the purely theoretical interest, attaching to a conflict between two modes of viewing the universe, of which neither was absolutely false, nor absolutely true. But to the Jew, engaged in the actual combat, it was not such a dilettante affair. To him it was the struggle of absolute truth, purity and morality against falsehood. filth and wickedness. What wonder, then, that he did not scruple to ascribe his own composition to some revered ancient name, if through the glamour of that ancient time he could make a heathen listen to, and perhaps be convinced by, an argument in favor of what is holiest and truest? How trifling must the deception

have appeared compared with the contemplated result! Let those who are sure that they would have had greater scruples under similar provocations, throw the first stone.

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The Septuagint

Contradictory opinions are recorded in the Talmud respecting the value of the Septuagint. We should bear in mind that most of the Hellenistic Jews, who depended on it for their knowledge of the Bible, could not but think favorably of it. The numerous Palestinian Jews, who knew no Greek, had probably no opinion about it, one way or the other. Whatever opinion is entitled to any consideration could only come from those who mastered both languages, whose number must have been small. Many of these, while not actually condemning the version, must have looked down upon it. We are not unfamiliar with the superiority assumed by people, who can read a book in the original, over those who must resort to a translation, an attitude which somehow comes to be transferred to the translation itself. The best version is, of course, inferior to the original,* and the Septuagint, far from being a good translation, betrays in many places a lamentable ignorance of the original tongue.

Kuenen has, therefore, expended more effort than the case demanded on proving that the rejection by Jews of the LXX was not general. If the above reflections are correct, there can be no question of a general rejection. Paul of Tarsus' habit of quoting from the LXX. could hardly pass for a proof that the version was liked by *Jews* who could form an opinion. The citing of Jesus ben Sirach's grandson is rather unfortunate. For, while he does not evince any objection to the translation, he intimates his opinion of its inferiority in these unmistakable words: *οὐ γὰρ ἰσοδυναμεῖ αὐτὰ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἑβραϊστὶ λεγόμενα καὶ ὅταν μεταχθῇ εἰς ἑτέραν γλῶσσαν· οὐ μόνον δὲ ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ νόμος καὶ αἱ προφητεῖαι καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν βιβλίων οὐ μικραν ἔχει τὴν διαφορὰν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς λεγόμενα.*

*Excepting, indeed, Harriet Martineau's translation of the *Cours de philosophie positive*, preferred by Comte himself to the original; but this was also a condensation, which the prolixity of the original loudly called for.

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Religion

Today was it borne in upon me with exceptional clearness and force, that the great, perhaps the most important, line of cleavage in mankind is that which divides between religious and non-religious; and this line is not at all coincident with those dividing Jew from Christian, Muslim from Brahmin, etc. These latter I take to be accidents. The essential thing—the religious temperament, innate or acquired—will express itself differently in different confessions, itself remaining the same. We similarly recognize the fundamental unity of intellectual force in the keen mathematician and in the profound philosopher, though regions of its manifestation differ. Has this temperament achieved its highest development in antiquity? No more than man's science achieved it; no more than his music; no more than his philosophy. Unless, indeed, religion was a revelation, in the orthodox sense of the term. But then development were as much out of the question as it would be in connection with Pallas who leapt forth panoplied from the head of Zeus. But *nolentes volentes,* the evidence of those haughty orthodox claims is daily becoming less trustworthy. If there be any truth in history, in experience, in science, Religion is a growth, even as science and art are; nay, as are the trees, the rocks, the solar system, out of primitive chaos. He who planted the love of sweet melody in the heart of man, there to grow through countless ages, and eventually to ripen into the glories of Handel's Messiah, or Beethoven's Seventh Symphony; He who has planted the seeds of curiosity into the breast of the lowest savage, destining it to develop into that overmastering craving for ever grander and deeper knowledge, of which our observatories, laboratories, libraries are the silent witnesses; He also has planted in man the seeds of fear, and love, and hope, and a unique sensitiveness, which, when developed, become the loveliest, the fragrantest, as well as the tenderest of flowers—the pure religion of a civilized man. Inquisitiveness is not always a pleasant

trait; the celestial's tum-tum would be jarring even to an enthusiastic Wagnerite. Even so are some very real phases of religion to a more highly cultured nature. But who will judge the tree by the green and crabbed berry, rather than by the ripe, delicious fruit?

EPHRAIM FELDMAN.

THE CHURCH AND THE INDIVIDUAL.

THE trend of the theological thought of the nineteenth century—among Protestants, of course—has been away from dogma and ecclesiastical authority. The newer Reformation inaugurated by Ritschl and continued by his disciples is pronouncedly antagonistic to both: witness at the extreme the cry for an undogmatic Christianity (Dreyer), with the bulk of the school the condemnation of ecclesiastical dogma as less profitable to faith than advantageous to the Church (Harnack, Sabatier), on all sides the distrust of an authority—be it that of the corporate Church or that of the letter of Holy Writ—imposed upon the individual from without (Herrmann, Kaftan). "The Gospel is the salt of the earth; where it wishes to be more it is less"—the logical deduction from Ritschlian premises expressed in Wellhausen's usual epigrammatic vein. The shortcomings of ecclesiastical piety—whether in the Catholic Church or in Lutheran orthodoxy or in Pharisaic Judaism (Schürer, Bousset)—are sedulously set forth lest the purity of the true inward piety of a Ritschlian's soul be sullied.

Reformed Judaism, nurtured in the bosom of Evangelical Berlin, not only copied Evangelicalism in the externals of the service and the sermon, but also borrowed from it its theological attitude, scorning the slavery of authority and glorifying the freedom of the individual. The result has been theological anarchy: every preacher has builded a high-place all to himself, and we have as many Judaisms as pulpits (Jerem. ii. 28b). Having

broken with the authority of Church and Scripture, Ritschlianism at least proceeds to set up the historical Christ as its sole Master and Lord; to the Ritschlian, Christian piety is centered in Jesus as he lived and taught and died the death of martyrdom nineteen hundred years ago. What, it may be pertinent to inquire, is the center of the Jewish piety of the Berlin type which has thrown off the irksome restraints of ecclesiastical authority?

Our past, on the one hand, and the example of Catholicism on the other, should recall us from following in the wake of latter-day Evangelicalism. Jewish nationalism—political Zionism—is altogether modern. I readily understand the efforts of Zionism to be grafted upon the ancient Messianic hopes. The new always seeks to be linked to the old, for life tolerates no breaks. The links, almost imperceptible to the naked eye of the man on the street, are seen and known as artificial by the trained eye of the student. Zionism is not Messianism. The Jewish community of the past knew itself as held together by certain hopes, it is true, but also by a distinct set of doctrines. If it was not a Church—it was certainly a Church in the making— it referred to itself as "a people made specific by its doctrines and mode of life." "Ummah" is not a nation in our sense of the word (Steinschneider notwithstanding).

The introductory chapter of Wellhausen's *Das arabische Reich* will prove useful reading in this connection. As for "torot," the plural is quite as difficult to render as the singular. And the rabbinic term "Kneset Israel" may not unfitly be rendered "the Church of Israel." To be a Jew—we who were raised in unsophisticated traditional Judaism know it from life—meant more than the physiognomy or the common enemy abroad. It meant a spiritual heritage; it meant a mode of life and a mode of thought. And we felt the reign of authority, unwritten, undefined, but supremely real nevertheless. Membership in the Jewish community was tacitly—if occasion demanded, avowedly—conditioned by adherence to the beliefs and hopes of Israel. A Jew was he who sympathized with, and lived up to, them. And

who will say that the Jewish piety of the past was inferior to our own for the mere reason that it was rooted in discipline and in obedience to authority? We who, I say it again, know traditional Judaism from life, not merely from books, are in a position to understand the emphasis which the Catholic world places upon ecclesiastical authority. It is cheap and superficial, and betrays a lack of insight into a type of piety different from ours to ascribe the Catholic insistence upon authority to the lust for world-dominion on the part of the hierarchy. I grant that ecclesiastical authority may be, and has been, abused. I concede that the constructions of the "Kulturhistoriker"—Chamberlain, for example —which see in Catholic Rome a continuation of Imperial Rome, have something alluring in them. But they are far from telling the whole truth. And Chamberlain himself is forced to give recognition to what he terms the "Catholic idea." Loisy, whom the Church saw fit to unfrock and whose book she destroyed, is the champion of ecclesiastical authority, of the Church as the living source of the individual's piety, against the misty, vague, subjective "Wesen des Christentums" upon which Harnack would pin his faith!

The truth is that there is room for both in our religious consciousness and in our religious polity. "If I do not win my faith for myself," thus we may paraphrase Hillel's saying, "who can do it for me? And if I am pious unto myself, and by myself alone, what will my piety amount to?" Individual piety and the authority of an ecclesiastical organization are not mutually exclusive. Indeed, the one cannot exist without the other. Authority manifests itself wherever it is opposed by a stubborn will, quite as much as the individual becomes conscious of his own will when the latter is balked by outward force. Where lax authority prevails, there is no occasion for the display of individual force. The ordinary, humdrum life passes along the amplitudes of the oscillating pendulum. Our piety is inward and outward at the same time. The priest as the conservative guardian of authority will be found at the one extremity, the radical prophet

at the other. Just as age and youth exist side by side, so will at all times authority and individualism. The Church must combine and transcend both; her authority should be elastic and capable of incorporating the changes which life inexorably demands. But those changes, if permitted to enter the system in slow but sure stages, will readily be assimilated and coalesce with the old and worn tissues thus vivifying and strengthening them. The Church should know that latitude is not necessarily laxity, and elasticity not necessarily weakness. And the individual will accomplish much more from within the Church than by placing himself outside her pale. It is quite true that the fanatic Churchman and the choleric prophet will not heed the wisdom of compromise. With the strong, such wisdom were indeed unwisdom, if not treason. In other words, the conflict between Church authority and the individual conscience must go on everlastingly even as the swing of the pendulum. A blind, unelastic authority and an equally unbending individual will are destined to clash here and there and at all times. Tragedies will be unavoidable. Authority will crush and crucify the individual—the man of flesh and blood, but not the cause for which the martyr gives his life. Life means conflict; stagnation is death. And the assertion of a strong individual in opposition to a traditional hierarchy is quite different from an individualism unconscious of its aims; in fact, having none for want of opposition. Anarchic individualism is spiritual inanity.

If we are to escape the spiritual inanity in our religious life, let us have a strong ecclesiastical government, even at the risk of a few heresy trials. Then and then only strong individuals will arise. May God hasten the day!

MAX L. MARGOLIS.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.

A. THE NAMES OF THE HEBREW VOWELS.*

THE names of the Hebrew vowels offer a double difficulty, with regard to their meaning, as well as their grammatical form. The etymological meaning of these terms has occupied the attention of scholars since the days of Ibn Ezra, while the discussion of their grammatical form is of recent date. Not to mention medieval authors the following scholars have treated the subject lately: Guidi[1], Derenbourg[2], Lambert[3], P. Haupt.[4] I believe that Professor Haupt has given a final solution of the question as regards etymology, with the exception of the term שוא (see below). I shall, therefore, limit myself to the discussion of the grammatical forms and of the etymology of the term שוא.

In searching for the original form of the names of the vowels, it lies on the surface to use the analogy from the forms of similar terms in Syriac and Arabic and such Hebrew and Aramaic terms whose formation is subject to no doubt, as מפתח פומא, מקפץ פומא, פְּתִיחָה, קְמִיצָה, קִיבּוּץ, שֶׁבֶר From this it becomes clear that the supposed forms must be some form of the verbal noun in the Qal. All that is doubtful is whether we have here Syriac or Hebrew forms, and, if the latter, which of the three possible forms *qatl, qitl* or *qutl*. Lambert decides for the Syriac forms, vocalizing: p e t â h, q e m â ṣ, h e r â q, h e l â m, ṣ e r â y, s h e r â q, s h e w â and s e g ō l. His reasons for such an assump-

* In the absence of Prof. Levias, Dr. Henry Malter kindly read the proofs of this article.—Ed.

[1] Bolletins I. 430 (not accessible to me).

[2] Revue Critique 1879, p. 453.

[3] Revue des Etudes Juives xviii, 123, xliv, 308.

[4] Journal of the American Oriental Society, xxii, 1.

tion are: 1) The oldest sources write these terms without vowel-letters; 2) Masoretic terminology depends on Syriac, 3) All the terms are Aramaic; ergo, the former must be Syriac. To these arguments are to be opposed the following objections: ad 1) The spelling points rather to Hebrew forms, for neither Aramaic, nor Hebrew nor Arabic transcriptions show the least trace of a long vowel after the second radical; ad 2) The dependence of the Masorah on the Syrians has no doubt become an axiomatic truth with all modern scholars, although nobody has ever succeeded in proving it. I am rather skeptical about it (see below). And even if this be taken for granted, there is still the possibility that the Masorites borrowed the Syriac forms as little as they borrowed their terms; and ad 3) the terms שרק, צרי, חלם, חרק never occur in Aramaic form. With regard to שוא this remains undecided. In other words, these terms originated after the rise of Karaism, when the Rabbanites began to abandon Aramaic for Hebrew in their prose writings. That they occur only in Hebrew forms is even more remarkable, since their verb-stems are no doubt Aramaic. At this period, the time of the payyetanim, we find that even old Aramaic terms occurring in the Talmud are Hebraized. As will be shown later, even the old Aramaic terms פתח and קמץ never had that Syriac form, hence the supposition that the Hebrew terms ever had such form is quite gratuitous.

Prof. Haupt assumes the following forms: p e t a h, h e r e q, s h e r e q, h e l e m, q ō m e ç, ç e r ē, s e g ō l, m e l ō-f u m, s h a b b a, without stating his reasons for his assupmtion, except with regard to s h a b b a, which he takes to be the Aramaic for *chip, i. e.* fragment of a vowel. Both Lambert, implicitly, and Prof. Haupt, explicitly, assume that the vowel-names had only one form. In preparing for print my *Dictionary of Hebrew Philological Terminology* I have had occasion to give special attention to this question, and the material I have gathered will, I believe, help us arrive at a final solution of it.

The name שרק is vocalized s h e r e q in Hayyuj ed. Jastrow,

p. xxxii., col. 1. פחח is spelled in the Babylonian Masorah פיתחא[1]; דגש is דינשא. The forms s h e r e q, p e t a h and d e g e s h being by these examples proven, we may argue that by analogy we have the right to assume the same form in חלם, חרק and קמץ. The fact that we nowhere find a spelling קומצא or קומץ makes it certain that we have the form q e m a ç not q ō m e ç. For the same reason I read מלאפום m e l ā f u m and not m e l ō f u m. צרי is no doubt identical in form and meaning with Aramaic ציריא; theoretically, therefore, the form would be that given by Prof. Haupt. The Hebrew of that time, however, would give the pausal form ç e r ī, a form actually found in Dunash, ed. Schroeter, no. 108, o. The reason for this one may learn from the Babylonian vocalization published by Kahle,[2] from which it is evident that the vowels reduced in the Tiberian system were retained in the Babylonian tradition. And the spellings of the Talmud confirm this fact. Especially was this the case with ל״י nouns; cf. יופי, חולי, פיהי, שיהי etc., *cf.* also the traditional pronunciation of אנו with K a m e ç. In the case of סגול the form s e g ō l might have been the original; but since we find such spellings as סגלחא סגל it might have also been s e g e l. Such a word occurs in Payyetanic literature and would in this case mean a *bunch,* a name just as appropriate as סגול *cluster.* The determination of the form of שוא depends entirely on its etymology, which I shall proceed to discuss.

II.

When in 1895 I published my article on שוא[3] coming to the conclusion that the term is a translation of the Arabic s u k ū n, and comes from the verb ישב a conclusion accepted by many scholars today, I could work only on the basis that the term belongs to

[1] References and additional material I reserve for my Dictionary.

[2] Der Masoretische Text des A. T. nach der Ueberlieferung der Babylonischen Juden, Leipzig, 1902.

[3] American Journal of Philology, XVI, 28.

the Tiberian system. After having published, in 1899, my article on Palestinian Vocalization,[1] I have begun to see another possibility. The difficulty in accepting the etymology offered by me is the same as for the one offered by Prof. Haupt—the subsuming under one name such heterogeneous conceptions as a vowel, although a neutral and very short one, and the absolute lack of vowel sound. I have assumed that the name originally belonged to the silent shewa; Prof. Haupt, however, seems to assume that it belonged originally to the vocal shewa. Since there is no reason to assume that the Tiberian sign did not, from the start, denote both, it is difficult to assume that the name refers only to one. That difficulty would disappear if we could show the name to refer, not to the sound, but to the sign. This supposition, I believe, can be proven to be true.

In my aforementioned paper on Palestinian Vocalization, I gave the opinion that the dagesh sign over the ק in the words תונקב and חועקב (p. 162) as well as the same sign over the ב of the word תונשב (p. 164) are to be taken as shewa signs and belong to the ב in all of them. Dr. Paul Kahle has contested my statement (Stade's *Zeitschrift,* xxi., 308 n. 2), and explains that the signs belong to the ק showing that the ע in חועקב and the נ in תונקב are assimilated to the ק. The word תונשב he did not notice, but would no doubt explain similarly. What he says on the same page about the word וקדושתר is, I presume, a lapsus calami. Kahle's explanation I cannot accept, for three reasons: 1) the word תונשב having the sign on the ב could not refer back to the ש. If we should permit ourselves to explain, as mistakes, anything that does not support our opinion, we could, of course, prove any theory. 2) The writer of the text and the vocalizer could not have lived at a very great distance of time from each other, and in all probability, lived in the same country. The words תונשב and תונקב are not Biblical, *i. e.* we can not assume here historic spelling. There is no reason to assume that the authors

[1] American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures, XV, 157.

of the text pronounced Hebrew differently from the punctuator. If the latter had pronounced the words תושב תוקב the authors would have done the same and would, therefore, not have written the נ at all. Moreover, if the punctuator had pronounced the words with assimilation of ע and נ the ת in all the three words would have had the vowel שרק not חלם = חטף קמץ ! 3) The Masoretic use of דגש and רפה for silent and vocal shewa must have a concrete basis, and this basis can only be found in P. Also the Samaritan uses the same sign for shewa (Rappoport, *La Liturgie Samaritaine,* 76). In view of these considerations I consider my statement not contradicted. Although the correctness of my theory about these words would give me plain sailing in drawing my conclusions therefrom. I shall yet take the reader into my confidence and show him another possible explanation. The fact that only these three words in several hundred have this questionable sign is, no doubt, merely a matter of chance. Equally a matter of chance is the fact that all the three words end in ב. There are other words ending in ב which have not the sign; cf. יעקב אב יעקוב ישב. Still it is possible that the sign is intended for a מפיק over the ב. That letter, when ending a syllable and being post-vocalic, might have been in popular pronunciation omitted as Aramaic תו, נסא stand for תוב, נסב coloring, perhaps, the preceding vowel as in Neo-Syriac. The sign might be designed to guard against such vulgarism in public prayer. While this is a possibility, the probability is that it is, as stated, intended for שוא, as I shall proceed to prove. The same is the case with the רפה, which I have taken to stand for חטף.

In examining the Palestinian vocalization two questions obtrude themselves on the careful observer: 1) How does it come that one and the same sign, a semi-circle, serves for two opposite things, for dagesh and rafe? — 2) Why can the dagesh sign stand either before or on the consonant to which it belongs, but never after it; and why can a vowel stand only on the consonant to which it belongs, or, when it does stand on a preceding consonant must it be repeated on the next consonant? The first question

I attempted to answer in said article, but d i e s d i e m d o c e t; I take that back. My first explanation was based on an assumed etymology of רגש. I am now certain that this term is connected with Arabic d a k a s a = k o d a s a *to heap up,* d a n k a s *hard* = Hebrew-Aramaic גרש = רגש. D e g e s h has exactly the same sense as Syriac q u s h s h a y. The same phenomenon we find in Arabic, and similarly is the use of the dot in Syriac for both q u s h-s h ā i and r u k k a k. All these phenomena seem to hang together, but are as little explainable in the one as in the other—if we seek the ultimate cause in themselves. The whole thing becomes clear if we assume that all the three systems depend on the composite type of the Babylonian vocalization! Let us call that system B; the Palestinian, P; Arabic, A; Syriac, S; Tiberian, T. The composite Babylonian type I call B1; the simple type B2, and that of cod. or. qu. 680 Berlin, treated by Dr. Kahle, B3.

B1 has neither a dagesh nor a silent shewa in the sense in which the systems have it, *i. e.* as marking the consonant, but considers them in their effect on the preceding vowel. A vowel before shewa or dagesh has less sound-volume than when it stands in an open syllable; hence, shewa or dagesh are marked by a rafe sign, an horizontal line over the preceding vowel. P, in trying to adapt B1 to another system could not use the line, for the Pathah sign had become simplified to that form and would have caused confusion; it therefore substituted the circle for the line, but kept originally the place of the line in B1, *i. e.* on the preceding consonant. When, in consequence of its changing the conception of dagesh and shewa as belonging to the consonant and not to the vowel, it began at first to double the circle, to repeat it on the following consonant. By false analogy the vowel-signs were also occasionally repeated, *cf.* קראוי (p. 163) with ישרק over ר and א finally transferring the sign entirely to the consonant. As a consequence of that act shewa, dagesh and rafe, especially the latter two, became indistinguishable. The circle was, therefore, halved, and by its different positions the two opposite phenomena were

well distinguished. The identity of the signs for dagesh and shewa occasioned no confusion, for a vowelless consonant could never have both together. A is based on B1, from which it borrowed the signs for the vowels *u* and *a*, the *i* vowel being the same sign as the *a*, differentiated by position; but the sign and conception of shewa it took from P, probably because it corresponded with the phonetic theories of those days, better than the theory on which B1 was based. Now, that circle is nothing but the zero sign in the Arabic numerals, whose Arabic name cifr means *empty, emptiness* (*cf.* Fischer, *ZDUG.* lvii. 792). This circle, as a cipher, occurs also in the form of a dot. While the circle belongs to the Arabic numerals introduced into Arabic literature about the eighth century (the earliest mention we have found goes back to 743) the dot was used a great deal earlier. Taking the hint of Dr. G. Jacob (*Smithsonian Reports,* 1902, p. 517) that this dot goes back to the Greek o b e l o s, I trace the negative signs (except zero) of all Semitic systems to that source. The obelos had three forms: a simple horizontal line, a line with one dot and a line with two dots. B1 utilized only the line; P adopted the later circle; so did A. T and S have a mixture of dot and line. Samaritan has all the three.

The negative circle or zero, was used for the following purposes in Arabic: to designate shewa, dagesh, lack of vowel-letter, cancellation of consonant (Wright, *Arab. Gram.* 3rd ed. p. 14 n. *c*; ZDMG. lvii. 792; Smithsonian Report, 1902, p. 518) and in P for mappiq, rafe, vocal shewa; in the Masorah for cancellation of word and p i s q a. In Samaritan for shewa and of pasuq. In combination with the dot or with a scroll resembling Arabic ʻa y n, for abbreviations.

The dot is used for cancellation (*cf.* dotted words) for dagesh, mappiq, omission of vowel-letter (*cf.* וקים סגים) in T; for abbreviation in Hebrew. The double dot in T for shewa and s o f p a s u g. In Samaritan we find the double and triple dot, with or without the line, for end of a paragraph; for the same purpose a number of semi-circles. For Q u s h s h ā y and R u k k a k in S.

The line is used for vowel-diminution in B1, for rafe in B, T; for dagesh and shewa in Samaritan; for m e h a g g e y a n a and m a r h e t a n a in S; for p a s e q in T; for end of paragraph in Samaritan; as an abbreviation sign in Hebrew.

The above shows us 1) that B1 stands, in its phonetic theory, opposed to all other systems. 2) That P represents the transition from B1 to all other types and systems (except B2.) 3) That only B1 explains the connection between the positive d e g e s h=q u s h-s h a y=t a s h d i d and the negative s h e w a=j a z m a, r a f e, etc. 4) That B1 is the earliest system of all. 5) That A and T as well as Samaritan, are not based as hitherto assumed, on S. 6) That since A. Epstein has demonstrated a Hindu basis for the phonetic theories of the ספר יצירה it will probably be found on investigation that of the two theories on which the systems are based, one follows Greek the other follows Hindu grammar. 7) That if the phonetic theories of the ספר יצירה agree with B1, its date will not be the eighth century, as hitherto assumed, but considerably earlier.

The interrelations between the systems and their different ages shall be discussed in another place.

To return to shewa. P was the first system when the term shewa could have arisen. The connection of s h e w a and d a g e s h in the Masorah, as well as r a f e and h a t e f, is only explicable with reference to P. Hence, all these terms originate in P. The name s h e w a could have been either a translation of c i f r, the Arabic name of zero, and would have been the Hebrew שוא *nothingness, naught,* or it was a designation of the form of the sign, and then it must have been the Arabic שבא (shabba) or שיוא (shiwwa) or ring, circle. Considering that a Hebrew designation at that early time would be improbable, especially since its contemporary דגש is Aramaic, and considering that the double spelling of s h e w a requires accounting, the latter supposition is the most acceptable.

III.

The opinion that the vowel-names had only one form, as held by Lambert and Haupt, was shared by Luzzatto and de Lagarde, only the latter two postulated for the names פתח and קמץ the form of the Aramaic active participle. With reference to these opinions can be applied the Talmudic dictum אלו ואלו דברי אלהים חיים. The truth is that פתח and קמץ, like פסק, דגש and many accen names, had many forms. Not only did there exist many nominal forms as, מקפץ פום, קמץ פום, קמצא, מפתח פומא, פיתחא, etc., but also participial forms, both active and passive. Thus we find פתח, and פתוח, קמץ and קמוץ, דגש and דגוש, just as we find תבר and תברא, תלשא and תלישא, גרש and גריש (gēresh by imala from gāresh), פסק and פסיק etc. The forms alternating with those of the passive participle are those of the active participle, a fact demonstrated by these considerations: 1) by Arabic spellings like קאמצה, פארתחה, נאעיה, etc.—2) by analogy with forms like מאילא, מונח, מרעים, מאריך etc.—3) by the theory underlying the use of the passive participle. The fact that only פתח and קמץ have participial forms, gives us the explanation. Only such terms as occur in the Masoretic glosses could be so used. The participial form is originally no noun, but a whole sentence. קמץ and קמוץ are practically the same in a Masoretic gloss; the one meaning *one should pronounce or vocalize with kameç*, the other; *it is pronounced or vocalized with kameç.*

In addition to all these forms the Hebrew, feeling the Aramaic ending as a feminine ending, got forms like פתחה, קמצה etc. from both noun and participle active. The same phenomenon we find also elsewhere; *cf. e. g.* נוסחות, בבות, סברות, גמרות as plurals of Aramaic masculina נוסחא, בבא, סברא, גמרא etc. Similarly in the construct state of the singular נוסחת, בבת, סברת, גמרת etc. This multitude of forms goes back to Masoretic times.

C. Levias.

B. WORD STUDIES.

1. מ ס ו ר ת

The name "Masorah," occurs in many forms, the etymology, pronunciation and genetic connection of which is a much mooted point. The following is a contribution to its solution.

1) The term מסורת is an abbreviation of מסורת הבר ת *the fetter of the law* (Ez. xx. 37). The fixation of the text was correctly considered to be in the nature of a fetter upon its exposition, binding it to a certain point of view. We find here for the first time the application of a Biblical phrase to literary work, a phenomenon very common in later ages. The equivalent Arabic term d a b t (*cf. Al Chazari, II.* 73, 80) shows a similar development. Compare also Arabic a l h u r ū f a l m u'j a m a *the bolted or fastened letters, i. e. pointed letters,* and a l h u r u f a l m u h m a l a *the loose* or *free, i. e., unpointed letters.* From this original meaning developes that of *mnemonic sign* (*Tosefta Shabuot.* vi. 6) such signs being a check upon the subjects to be remembered, and of the Masoretic מסורתא *frame-word.* If a word is preceded and followed by one and the same word the Masoretic gloss designates this by מסורתא מכא ומסורתא מכא *a frame or clasp on each side.* The chief work of the early Masorites having been the fixing of the "orthography," מסורת, or the plural מסורות, came also to mean *orthography,* or, as the early commentators call it, *plene and defective spelling* (*Ned.* 37b). The objections of Geiger and Harris (*Jewish Quarterly Review I.* 138) are untenable The Talmud does not give an historical exegesis of Neh. viii. 8; the Biblical text serves merely as a canvass, (אסמכתא) and the words must not be pressed. The primary signification assumed here for one term explains also the frequent use of the plural in the sense of the singular, while on the assumption that it originally meant *tradition* such a use of the plural would be strange indeed. When

the Masorah, in the course of time, had become a traditional discipline, the term became connected with the verb מסר, *to hand down,* and given the meaning of *tradition.* This latter meaning soon became so dominant that it reflected back on the expression in Ezekiel, whence it had been derived, so that Theodotion there rendered it by παράδοσις (Field's *Hexapla, II* 820a.) and Rashi *ad loc.* explains it similarly, undoubtedly following an old tradition. The term has thus been squinting later from *fetter* to *tradition,* and led R. Akiba, the first to mention the term, to his dictum recorded in Abot (ed. Taylor, III. 20): Masorah (fixed textual tradition) is a fetter (lit. fence) to the Torah." The grammatical form of the word was felt to be *qatult, i. e.* a nomen agentis, hence the Aramaic form מָסוֹרְתָּא

2) Some Masorites vocalized the terms in Ezekiel מַסֹּרֶת, a reading still known to early grammarians (*cf.* Frensdorf's note to his edition of *Dareke ha-nikkud,* p. xxxvii), which explains the traditional pronunciation and the Aramaic מַסּוֹרְתָּא. This vocalization may have been the original one, the modern vocalization being due to the misinterpretation of the term in the Bible.

3) The term מסורת having assumed the meaning of *tradition* in general and a number of other significations (*cf.* above), it became necessary in post-talmudic times to find a specific name for the labors of the Masorites, and the term מוֹסָרָה was chosen. This word, like the first, meaning *fetter,* had also been connected by the Talmudists with the verb מסר (Babba meçi'a 8b), had therefore, the same squinting signification as the first term and could also be considered as a nomen agentis. This produced the Aramaic form מָסַרְתָּא and the Arabic مآسرة. Under the influence of the original term the Hebrew form מוסרת also developed.

4) The term מוסרה, however, in which the meaning of *fetter* was the dominant one, could not find general application, because the linguistic consciousness of those days had felt in מסורת

only the meaning of *tradition*. It was, therefore, used only sporadically, while the Aramaic term מְסָרְתָּא *tradition* gained general acceptance. This again influenced the pronunciation of the original term, whose connection with the passage in Ezekiel was lost sight of, and produced a form מְסוֹרֶת, Aramaic מְסוֹרְתָּא Arabic ממסר (Al-Chazari, iii, 35). It is under Jewish influence, and not the reverse, that the Syrians introduced the Masorah into their literature and adopted for it (in the seventh century) the term משלמנותא *tradition*.

5) The forms מָסֹרָה, מְסֹרָה, מְסֹרָה, מְסוֹרָה, מַפּוֹרָה, מָסוֹרָה, (the latter thinned down to מסרה (*cf.* my *Aramaic Grammar*, § 69) are nothing but absolute states of the corresponding Aramaic forms given above, accepted later into Hebrew. This process is analogous to that which the term הגדה underwent. Having been Aramaized into אגדתא, the absolute state of the latter returned into Hebrew in the form of אגדה. These Hebraized Aramaic forms became later specialized to mean the concrete work of the Masorites, the written or printed Masorah.

2. אפודה

In the מחברת התיגאן published by J. Derenbourg under the title of *Manuel du Lecteur*, we meet with the strange term אפודה or מלה אפודה for *infinitive* or *nomen actionis*. The author himself explains the word by כפולה *enveloped*. The editor in note 10, p. 20, does not seem to be satisfied with the equation of אפד = כפל, but has nothing else to suggest. Steinschneider (*Hebr. Bibl.* xx, 23) assumes a corruption of the Arabic term from which our word is probably a translation. This is an improbable origin of a term; although it must be admitted that we have, as I believe, such a case in Maimonides' *Millot Hahiggayon*, ch. xiii, where קנין *verb* seems to have originated from a misread Arabic מלכה for כלמה. The *Petit Grammaire Hebraique provenant de*

Yemen, published by Neubauer, contains no Arabic text corresponding to the Hebrew passages in which our word occurs, and contributes therefore nothing to the solution of the riddle.

We turn to etymology. According to H. Grimme (OLZ) the original meaning of אפד is *to wrap up*. This would well accord with the explanation given by the author. But there still remain two reasons for doubting its correctness. On the one hand, we know that almost all grammatical terms in Hebrew are translations; the most of them from the Arabic, a few from the Syriac. The probability is, therefore, that our term is also a translated one. But neither Arabic nor Syriac has a term with such a meaning. On the other hand, it is yet to be shown that אפד was ever used in Hebrew literature in such a sense. There does not seem to be any example of such use. Beginning with the Targumim and the Peshitta and throughout payyetanic literature—the only literature in which אפד is used, except in Ben-Asher and our *Manuel*—the word is used as a synonym of תקן in all the senses and conjugations in which the latter word occurs. It is, therefore, only on the basis of the meaning of תקן that the term is to be explained.

Curiously enough, the Syriac has a hitherto unexplained term גבלא for infinitive, which like our word, occurs only once in literature. Now גבל Ethiop. *gabara* is a synonym for תקן (*cf.* Audo, *Dict. s. v.*). This is, no doubt, more than a chance coincidence, but one depends on the other. It is evident that the Hebrew term is a translation from the Syriac, and not the reverse, for the expression goes, no doubt, back to the late Greek term πρᾶγμα (*cf.* Schoemann, *Die Griechische Lehre von den Redetheilen*, p. 44), and the Jews never borrowed directly from the Greek.

We can now correct the author of the *Manuel* not only in his explanation, but also in his understanding of the grammatical form of the term. He evidently took the word אפודה to be passive participle, and supplied מלה, trying to give the most obvious explanation of a word he did not understand. The form of

אפורה however, is that of a *nomen agentis* (*cf.* Isa. xxx, 22) and means *action*. It is, however, possible that the passive participle was also in use, but in the sense of the Syriac *a noun of action having a definitely active or passive meaning*.

If Jewish tradition has transmitted to us the correct meaning of the verb אפד—the sense *to gird on* given by some is merely a guess—then אפור must have originally meant the priest's *outfit*, or *paraphernalia*, or his *ornament*.[1] The connection between *making, arranging*, and *adorning* runs through all Semitic languages (*cf. Dozy s. vv.* עמל and צנע Eth. *gabara*, and Syriac טכסא, Hebrew and Aramaic אתקין ,התקין).

3. ג פ ן—ג נ ת=ג ל ף

The temptation to connect גלף *engrave* with the Greek *γλύφω* is so great that very few have escaped it. The first to point out its Semitic origin and to connect it with גלב was Löw in Krauss *Griech.-Lat. Lehnwörter*. But even he did not recognize its connection with גפן and therefore failed to explain the term גופן. The last word means *written characters*. גפן is merely a transposition of גנף, and the latter is but a by-form of גלף. The material given below speaks for itself.

1. Syriac גפן means to dig, cut out (*cf.* Audo's *Dict. s. v.*).

2. The form גינפא=*גינפא is found in Berliner and Hoffmann's אוצר טוב, vol. v, p. 3 for the usual גופן or גיפן

3. Amharic "guinfat" Hebr. גיף *character, sign; "guinif" sculpture*.

4. סבר, גרס, גמר

The above expressions are used in the Babylonian Talmud in the sense of *to acquire traditional knowledge, to learn*. The following remarks will perhaps bring an elucidation of these terms, which is still a desideratum.

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[1] On אפור *cf.* now Foote, The Ephod: its Form and Use, Baltimore, 1902.

1. גרס is connected with Arabic j a r a s a and means originally *to sing in a low voice, to chant* or *read in a sing-song*. To aid the memory in oral study the ancients chanted their lessons. Hence it came to mean *to read* or *learn*. An exact equivalent, perhaps, a translation of גרס, we have in the Yiddish לייענען a verb connected with English "lay", Old French "lai", *song*, which is used for chanting the Bible, studying the Talmud and reading in general.

The chanting method is, no doubt, a great help to the memory for the formal, mechanical acquisition of a subject, but would be rather disturbing for a deeper study of the same. גרס, therefore, is limited in its application to elementary knowledge, to the acquisition of the formal, mechanical matter of knowledge, to superficial reading or recitation. One might, therefore, say ליגרס אף על גב דלא ידע *one should acquire the subject-matter of tradition, even if he cannot mentally digest it* (Aboda Zara, 19a); or one can talk of גירסא דינקותא *the learning acquired in childhood* (Sabb. 21b).

2) The intelligent penetration into the גירסא, the acquired formal knowledge, its intellectual digestion, is denoted by גמר, literally *to come to the end* of a thing, to get at the bottom of it, hence, to understand it, to learn it thoroughly, to master it. Since all learning in antiquity was chiefly oral, *i. e.*, by tradition, גמר means to learn something by tradition, גמרא the learning so acquired. Tradition pure and simple, like קבלה or מסורת, the term גמרא never means, but it has everywhere the same sense of *learning acquired by tradition*. Our dictionaries are here misleading. Other senses in which גמרא is used I shall not notice here. The cognate languages offer analogies for the development of meaning assumed in the explanation of גמר. Compare Ethiopic "gamara" *to grasp, understand*; Arabic *nuhya extreme end, understanding, wisdom;* וקף עלי I. *understand, learn;* וקף II. *to explain tradition.*

3) A subject of knowledge may be acquired thoroughly in one of two ways: *a*) By considering it from external, general points of

view; to use a Greek term, λογικόν. This is expressed by גמר. *b*) Or by a scientific penetration into the inner principles on which its facts or dicta rest, grasping it philosophically, αναλυτικόν. This is expressed by סבר *to grasp, comprehend.* The Hebrew equivalent for both גרס and גמר is למר; for סבר it uses הגה. The different steps in the acquisition of knowledge are first גירסא, then גמרא, lastly סברא.

5. איירי, ארא

In תשובות הגאונים ed. Harkavy, § 229, Hai Gaon enumerates a number of words in which Aramaic א or ע corresponds to Arabic "gh". Among those is also our word ארא. He further states that instead of אדייה (Sanh. 7a) the correct reading is ארייה. This gives us the desired key to the understanding of this difficult term. But we shall look in vain for help in the Arabic dictionary; we must consult the Syriac equivalent of the Arabic "ghara", viz: ערא. The original meaning of the word is *to seize,* as in Sanh. 7a. Like Hebrew תפש, it comes to mean on the one hand, *to hold to account, criticise, object to;* on the other hand, *to busy oneself with a thing, talk of, treat a subject*; and again *pay particular attention to, consider closely* (Yoma 34a) *conclude, infer.* The verbal noun אריא is תפיסת לשון *lemma.* The phrase מאי אריא.....אפלו.....נמי means literally: *why should there be a taking up (or discussion of) .....when the same applies to.....!*

6. זעטוט

The various explanations given this word are recorded in Krauss *Griech.-Lat. Lehnw.*, ii, 239. Löw, *ad loc.*, connects the word with the Syriac סקוטא, זקוטא, סטוטא and claims

it as Aramaic. While the equation is correct, it is neither Aramaic nor Semitic. Already the bewildering spellings point to a foreign origin. Now, these words cannot be separated from the Maghrabine Arabic שכ׳כו, אסטיטו, סטיטו and these latter are certainly not Semitic. *Cf.* on this subject, Simonet, *in his Glosario de voces ibericas y latinas, s. v.* "chico", who traces it to the Latin "exiguus."

7. טט בכתפי (בנדפי)

The Talmud tells us that טט means *two* in כתפי We know neither the language nor the country referred to. It may serve as clue to the student of ancient geography to learn that in the language of the Fulbe spoken in the Sudan the word for *two* is "*dido*", *while* "*tato*" means *three.* (*Cf.* Guirandon, *Manuel de la langue Foule,* p. 72).

8. ניתאפי

In תשובות הגאונים ed. Harkavy, § 219 Hai Gaon, in explaining the term עטור סופרים says that the ניתאפי read some passages incorrectly. The learned editor can not explain the word, but points out that the Aruch, *s. v.* עטר 1. has the expression אנשי כפרים for our word. I believe that we have a Hebrew form of our word in Talmudic literature which has, however, not been recognized. In Derech Eres Rabba, ii, we read: האמתנין והנפתנין והזחתנין וכו׳ It is usually assumed that נפתנין is a mistake for ניותנין *the proud, haughty ones;* it would therefore be the same as the following והזחתנין. Yalkut Machira to Psalms, i. 229, has preserved us the reading והנתפנין. Both readings seem to be correct. The metathesis between a sibilant and a labial occurs frequently, *cf. e. g.* כבש *and* דבש, כשב *and Assyr.* "dishpu". The word belongs to Ethiopic *"gazif", fat, obstinate.*

Arabic *"rajul kathif", coarse, stolid, uneducated man.* The grammatical form of גיתאפא is like that of גיבארא Hebrew גבור.

9. מילי מוליאתא

The above words have been explained in many different ways, *cf.* the dictionaries *s. v.* מילא or ממולא and the Talmudic commentaries to Yeb. 75b, and parallel passages. The word belongs to the Arabic **malagha, to be foolish, churlish, wanton, unseemly.*

10. מ ר ד ו

The weakest side in our knowledge of Semitic languages is the ignorance about things, what the German calls "Realien." Not only is this the case when it concerns dead languages, like Hebrew and Assyrian, but even in the living Arabic one frequently meets with word-definitions like "a kind of tree", "a kind of fish", etc. We are, therefore, not surprised to find in the Assyrian dictionary the article *"marratu" a kind of bird.* The Talmudic name for the bird מרדו has also the variants מרדא, מרדה, מרה. From this it appears that the word is a loan-word, and that the ד represents the feminine ending. It is, therefore, in all likelihood the Assyrian *"marratu."* According to the definition of Lewysohn in *Quadimah* i, 284, the term מרדו denotes the genus *Fulica,* and includes the two species gallinule (*Gallinula chloropus*) and the porphyrio (*Porphyrio hyacinthinus*), both water-hens.

11. שממית, מתם

Our modern critics are quick to amend any word in the Bible for which they do not find an analog in the cognate languages, not considering that many analogous forms have no doubt perished.

In keeping with this method they amend מתם (Judges xx, 48) in various ways. The word is, however, quite correct and its analog has been preserved to us in an out of the way corner, in Central Africa. In Robinson's *Hausa-English Dictionary* we find *"mutum", man,"mutani", men.* Our word, therefore, is the singular to the plural מתים with preserved mimation. The same language supports the explanation of שממית by *spider,* by its *"sumya" spider-web.*

12. הלם, המולה

This word is assumed to be a modification of המון notwithstanding that the ן is suffix, a strange assumption indeed! I would compare it rather to Arabic *"hamara" to shout with all might,* with the interchange of ל and ר A similar interchange we have הלם *to strike,* in later Hebrew *to understand,* and Arabic *"harama" to chap, mince,* and *"harim" understanding* = Tuareg "ahelmu".

13. הויא, הוא

The Talmudic term הוא ב.. or הוא על means literally *to be against,* then *to fight, battle,* used, of course, in the sense of מלחמתה של תורה, to discuss a subject by question and answer; by arguments and counter arguments. The verb occurs only in the Qal and, not as the dictionaries have it, in the Pa'el The expression עבד הויא is exactly the same as the Hebrew עשה מלחמה. A similar development of meaning is shown by the Arabic *kāna, to be, kaun, fight, combat, kainūna, conversation.*

14. ע ש י ק

The synonymous expression in the Miḍrash Ha-gadol, ed. Schechter, given for the hitherto inexplicable עשיק (Ber.

56a) viz. פקיע, throws light on the etymology and meaning of the word. It is a secondary formation of the root שק *to split, burst.* A similar formation shows the Talmudic עטף *to float.*

C. Levias.

IN WHAT DOES THE ORIGINALITY OF JUDAISM CONSIST?

BY EMIL G. HIRSCH.

THE discussions on the Code of Hammurabi have again brought out the fact well known to the followers of comparative studies in this field that there are striking similarities between the contents of Hebrew legislation and that regulating the life and institutions of other peoples. Delitzsch, apparently but little acquainted with the methods and the matter of comparative jurisprudence or religion, jumped at once at the conclusion that as the Babylonian code was the older the author of the earliest stratum of Pentateuchal legislation must have purloined therefrom. His inference was the inversion of the contentions in vogue prior to the modern researches in ethnology. Then it was the habit to attribute similarities discovered in the habits and practices or the institutions of the so-called polytheists with Biblical precept or ceremony or law to an adaptation from the holy writ. Or a primitive revelation being assumed, these duplicates of revealed ordinance or statute or idea were held to be a remnant of the first communication by the Deity to Adam. With the progress of our studies and the deepening of our insight into the processes by which religion and its institutions are shaped we have come to understand that such similarities, striking as they are, are not necessarily the result of purloining or the recollection of a common revelation.

Human nature is essentially the same under every clime. The needs of the human heart everywhere call for answer while the

thought-range of the race does not differ except by reason of advancing culture. Savages of a certain range of civilization entertain always the corresponding notions and in their sociological habitat present the same phenomena. This explains why certain ideas are universally prevalent and recur in all societies and religions. Laws as well develop in keeping with the character of the civilization that obtains. If, for instance, in the Babylonian code and the Pentateuch the law of taliation is invoked and enforced, the identity of provision occurring in both is explicable simply by the fact that this law underlies all primitive social life, and was especially in vogue among the Semitic clans. The very identity of the groundwork of both codes points thus not, as Delitzsch would have it, in the direction of the priority of the Babylonian document; but it does in that which suggests that anterior to both Hammurabi and Moses the peoples to whom this legislation is addressed were under the dominancy of tribal conceptions of the implications of justice and right. Neither Hammurabi nor the Biblical legislator evolved the corresponding laws out of their inner consciousness. One did not borrow from the other. Both codes were developed independently from each other.

But what thus is illustrated in the case of legislation bearing on the social life of the races in question is true also of the religious development of humanity. Many ideas and institutions are found in the Bible and therefore declared to be of Jewish origin and characteristic of the Jewish religion which upon closer inspection cannot but be detected to have at one time been universal and therefore constituting a part of the ceremonialism of all religions. They are a spontaneous growth arising from the soil of notions naturally entertained everywhere.

Now these universal factors corresponding to a social environment or individual bent of mind or racial range of thought through which all peoples of which we have ken had to pass or at which even some were doomed to pause, being unable to grow to fuller stature intellectually or morally, cannot be said to con-

stitute the original possession of Israel or to compose the characteristic elements of Israel's religious proclamation. Yet if the Law connoting the Pentateuch in its entirety be insisted on as *the* embodiment of what is essentially Jewish, the conclusion is unavoidable that Judaism stands for things and rites that other nations also observed, and the only possibility for saving the originality of Judaism is the fundamentally false assumption that the other peoples addicted to similar practices purloined them from Israel.

That the latter theory, once very much in vogue, posits an untenable impossibility is clearly seen when it is borne in mind that Biblical rites are observed by tribes and races that neither locally nor historically ever came in contact with Israel or with any people that had been under the influence of Israel's law.

Even those institutions that by modern orthodoxy, so called, are urged as central and indispensable, as the signs and distinctive symbols of Judaism, circumcision, the dietary laws and the Sabbath, will be found to belong to the class before named. For even these which for other reasons than those alleged have risen to a prominent importance in the superstition and consciousness of later Judaism are demonstrably connected with notions absolutely anti-Jewish originally and have grown out of social and intellectual conditions beyond which Judaism certainly has passed to a higher conception of man's relations to the Universe. Circumcision is not a sanitary prophylactic measure. Our neo-orthodox love to invoke this misconstruction of the primary motive underlying the rite in defense of both its introduction and its continued observance. They are so little orthodox in their feelings and convictions, perhaps they are so dense in their ignorance of what the true orthodox position is that they violate the very fundamental principle of Rabbinical piety which is to keep the Law without inquiring into the possible utility of the act commanded. Were a rite ever so hurtful but commanded in the *Law* the faithful would be bound without wincing to obey and submit to it. To impute to the races that have practiced the rite of circumcision

foreknowledge of prophylactic surgery is glaringly out of harmony with the mental attainments that as a rule mark the stage of religious development in which this institution is always found. Circumcision, this is well known, originally was not performed upon the infant. It was a ceremony of initiation set for the period of puberty, marking the transition from boyhood to manhood, and, as a rule, preceded the act of marriage. This connection is sufficient to indicate out of what primitive religious conceptions it has sprung. Cohabitation was everywhere at a certain stage of intellectual evolution regarded as defiling. Hence, this rite must be classed among the sanctifying practices that had everywhere the intention of pacifying the spirits sure to visit dire consequences upon him that abided in the state of impurity. Hence, among certain peoples, notably among the Egyptians, circumcision is found largely to be restricted to the priesthood, and served there as the rite of ordination or consecration. Now to contend that circumcision is the characteristic institution of Judaism fails to square with the history of the rite. That there are traces of controversy against the practice of this originally polytheistic, if not Fetichistic, custom in Prophetic and Deuteronomic protests against the circumcision of the flesh is patent. Because during later periods of prosecution this rite indeed came to be distinctively indicative of fidelity to Judaism over against Hellenism the Jewish consciousness gradually was brought to feel that it was for very truth the one sign of protest against the world, and as such the emblem of consecration to the Jewish religion. But as a rite circumcision cannot be said to be an invention of Judaism or even expository of Jewish ideas.

The dietary laws again are not measures anticipating the results of modern bacteriology. Let them who would thus construe their intention, in addition to what has been said before of their heterodoxy, remember that the very Law which is declared to have known that certain food was noxious permits its sale to the non-Jew, a license which would indeed cast upon Biblical legislation the just suspicion of having looked merely to the health of the

Jew and to have allowed the poisoning of the non-Jew by not warning him against the injurious nature of the food given him by the forewarned Israelite. Nor is the logic beyond dispute which points to the dietary laws in support and explanation at the same time of the longevity and superior vitality of the Jew. That superiority in this respect of which there is so much loose talk is not statistically demonstrated. But it is that Jews are susceptible to nervous disorders. The inference that this suceptibility for nervous disturbances is traceable to the dietary laws is just as rational as that the supposed immunity of the Jews against scrofula and consumption—and the Russian Jews probably are not attacked by phthisis and tuberculosis—is accounted for by the effect of the kitchen religion.

The scientific truth of the matter is these dietary laws are observed by the priests of many races. Whether they are connected with primitive Totemism may be in dispute. But for our purposes it is inconsequential to decide the issue between the contestants. The fact stands that dietary institutionalism marks every religion at a certain stage of evolution under the dominancy of the notion that certain food renders not unhealthy but unholy. Therefore, these dietary laws cannot be said to be the characteristic contribution of Judaism to the religious wealth of the world. That the dietary laws have come to grow into very Shibboleths is due to the role they played as marking fidelity in the Maccabean rebellion. That part, then, of the Law that deals with them is not of originally Jewish woof.

They who are acquainted with the literature on the question need not be told that the Sabbath as a rite cannot be truthfully claimed to be of Jewish origination. It is clearly involved in primitive star-worship, the number seven pointing out this connection most assuredly. It has had its devolpment both within and without Judaism along the lines of changing religious ideas. Once a day of ill augury on which for this reason no work was to be undertaken and no fire was to be lit, it was transformed by prophetic religion into the symbol of man's freedom. And the

reasons adduced for its institution in the various strata of the Law show the palpable effort to locate it within the sweep of Jewish religious notions or that of Jewish national or theological concepts which at the outset had no bearing on the day or the notion underlying its observance.

Sacrifices, the phylacteries or talismans, in fact all that Oriental pomp and circumstance which of late days has been urged as the very life air of Judaism cannot show credentials to this distinction when examined before the forum of comparative ethnography.

Is, then, the conclusion not justified that the Law embodies but little of what is originally Jewish or stands for what is essentially exponential of the Jewish hope and trust? In what was Judaism original? In the very enunciation of the irreligious character of these practices. That was the contribution made to humanity by the Prophets. Not sacrifices, not ritual, not holy convocation as such are religious. They are inconsequential, and if urged as final and essential cease to be religious and sufferable. In the stead of the religion that operates with sacrifices and rites, the Prophets taught a religious view of life and world in which the Holy God could only be revered by Holiness on the part of man. And this divine-like holiness of man consisted in "doing justly, loving mercy, etc." No other religion before had known of this interpretation of religion's implication. From Israel's seers this revolutionary philosophy was learned by the larger world. This ethical monotheism is the original and the essential content of Judaism. In its implications are infolded the striving for social justice and individual righteousness, the conception of life as obligation and service, the recognition of religion as a force and a fervor that lifts man above the brute, and, instead of pandering to fear or greed or creating within man the suspicion of being separated from the divine, elicits the resolution and confirms it to make the self subservient to the aims of all, the individual terrestrial life an instrument of the divine, the eternal, and thus establish and ever renew the at-oneness of man with the One God, whose righteous will is supreme and whose love sustains the all.

Not the Law, then, but the Prophetic principles constitute the essence of Judaism, for the Law operates largely, especially in its priestly components, with institutions based upon ante-Jewish and often anti-Jewish conceits, while the Prophetic vision and ardor is instinct with a new view and outlook, interpeted as a proclamation of those hopes and assurances, of those maxims and principles upon which the fate of humanity, as humanity, depends. These principles, this *"Lehre"* not "Gesetz" are originally Jewish, for they are that which Judaism as Judaism in harmony with its destiny and dower has given the world.

THE PULPIT AND POLITICS.

BY DAVID PHILIPSON.

IT has happened in the experience of almost every preacher who has discussed in his pulpit some burning ethico-political issue which is agitating his city or the country at large that he has been met by the statement from some of his hearers or readers that the pulpit should be kept free from politics and should concern itself only with theological matters. Scant as is my sympathy with the popular demand that the preacher should speak only on entertaining topics of the day, yet have I equally little patience with the noisy cry that issues from certain quarters whenever the preacher has the temerity to speak his mind on political issues which involve the moral health and welfare of the municipality or the nation.

It goes without saying that partisan politics are taboo for the pulpit, and any preacher who should so far forget the proprieties as to convert his pulpit into a political platform in the interest of one party or another is guilty of an unpardonable offense, but when a political question involves a moral issue, as is sometimes the case, and when this issue is not the question of the success of this or that political party, but the moral welfare of the people, then it becomes not only the right, but the duty of the pulpit to lift its voice in no uncertain tones in the cause of civic and national righteousness, honor and incorruption. As long as the preacher denounces the sins of ancient Judea, the corruption of Babylon, the wickedness of Ahab and Jezebel, the inhumanity of Antiochus Epiphanes, there is not a voice raised in

protest; but let him merely use these ancient sins and sinners as texts for application to modern conditions and what a hornet's nest he will stir up! Nothing is more unfortunate than the idea that is prevalent in many quarters that religion is a thing by itself, divorced from the rest of life and notably the civic and national life, that it and its institutions are quite apart, that it is for Saturday or Sunday, but not for the rest of the week, that its place is only the synagogue, the church and the Sunday-school and not the counting-room, the bench, the bar, the halls of government, in short, every phase of life.

The preacher's duty and privilege it is to denounce wrong-doing and corruption wherever he sees it; the pulpit will never command the respect it should and obtain the influence it ought to have until its occupants will fearlessly, like the prophets of old, castigate the wrongs in their communities whenever occasion shall arise and be among the foremost agencies, yes the foremost agency in awakening the dormant conscience of the people to the dangers threatening the welfare of the community from the corrupting influences that are at work. In one of his great orations, "The Duty of the American Scholar," George William Curtis said trenchantly, "Is the preacher to rebuke the sins of Jerusalem or Philadelphia? Is he to say in general 'be good,' when he sees in what particulars we are bad, and counsel silence and peace when silence and peace are treason to God and man? Are the liars to cry to the preacher, 'It is not your business to denounce lying; we pay you to preach against sin;'" and again in the course of this remarkable address he touches the same point when he exclaims: "Why does the pulpit command so little comparative respect but because it does not apply truth to life? When the American people have great sins to account for the smooth preacher touches with the dull edge of his reproof the sins of ancient Judea." The passing of time simply accentuates the necessity of the pulpit's applying the great eternal truths of religion to life; more and more it appears that ethics and politics are becoming intertwined; the great national political issues in this country, the trusts, imperialism, the labor question,

etc., etc., certainly have their moral side and from that side the pulpit should surely approach them, now and then, as well as the editorial column of the newspaper, the magazine and the political platform, aye, more so, for these latter usually consider the matters in question from a biased political standpoint, while the pulpit basing upon the everlasting verities of right and righteousness brings to play upon them the white light of God's truth. In our boss-ridden cities, what a tremendous effect for good a united stand in the cause of municipal righteousness on the part of all the churches would have! We know that corruption holds high revel, that the moral sense of thousands of our citizens is dulled, that bribery is systematically applied, that our schools are caught in the toils of the ward politician; we know all this and yet the most of our preachers are dumb, not because they do not feel and see the right, but because of the fear of dragging politics into the pulpit. But the day will come when the scales will fall from their eyes and the pulpit will rise to its duties and its opportunities and make the moral issues in politics its concern as surely and as truly as did those first and greatest of preachers, the prophets of Israel.

More potent preachers than Isaiah, Jeremiah, Amos, and their confreres there have never been. For them, as it has been well said, ethics and politics were one. Their creed was God and righteousness. These two articles of their creed they applied boldly, unreservedly and uncompromisingly to the political conditions of their day. They looked at temporal things from the eternal point of view, to use Spinoza's celebrated phrase. I doubt not but that the rulers and bosses of their day railed against them for meddling in political affairs, as in truth it is recorded of Amos and Jeremiah and Micah. But when one of them was commanded, "you shall not preach," he retorted, "I shall preach," and when a corrupt priest of Israel bade another go to Judah and preach there, because it paid better, he replied, I am not a professional prophet who plies his vocation for pay, but I speak because the spirit of God moved me to leave my flocks and preach the message of justice and righteousness. What grander figures are there on the canvas of

mankind's history than the prophet Nathan thundering into the great king's ears "thou art the man!" or the mighty Tishbite casting into the teeth of Ahab the famous retort "it is not I but thou and thy father's house who are troubling Israel!"

Mindful constantly of the fact that righteousness and righteousness alone exalts a nation and that sinfulness is a people's shame, these preachers of God's word saw life as a whole. For them there existed no broad lines of demarcation between the religious, the ethical, the political and the social premises. For them the ethical spirit permeated all of life. They bridged the gulf between ritualism and righteousness, between politics and ethics. Their sensitiveness to their people's sins was the truest test of their high religious spirit. We today point to them as the prototypes of the modern preacher. Well, then, inasmuch as this claim is more than a fine phrase, we should shape our activity along their lines. Mutatis mutandis, the conditions in ancient Israel and Judea have repeated themselves in all succeeding ages and lands. The tragical experience of Jeremiah's life has duplicated itself in the activity of every true patriot who, running counter to popular policies, has been accused of treason; the false prophets who with honeyed words flatter the powers that are, receive the applause of the crowd while the truth speakers meet with frowns and frenzied outbursts of denunciation. I cannot refrain from reproducing here the fine words of a recent writer on the social and political activity of the prophets as preachers: "We have nothing to fear," he says, "from that fear of kings which once made so many prophets false; but we have all the more to watch that we do not become flatterers of the common people. If we are to defend their rights, we must be brave to declare their sins; the offices of the Prophet and the Demagogue are absolutely irreconcilable. . . . There is danger that a man grow silent upon social ethics out of regard either to the ecclesiastical policy of his denomination, or to its financial interests. In all these forms the temptation to become a popular or fashionable preacher—whether the fashion be one of religious temper or of political opinion—is so subtle and so many succumb to it

that, as we value the honor of our calling and are zealous of our loyalty to God, we ought persistently to steep ourselves in the just and stern spirit of our great forerunners."[1]

And notably does it fall within the province of the Jewish preacher to apply the rule of righteousness to the affairs of state and of government if he would carry out the spirit of *his* Bible, for one of the great points of difference between the Old and New Testaments is in the attitude towards the powers that be; in the Old Testament, as I have just shown, there is the constant application of religious standards to national affairs, while in the New Testament the doctrine of the divorce between the two is accentuated in such well-known teachings as "give to Caesar what is Caesar's," and "the powers that be are ordained of God." It is therefore not surprising that the great Christian preachers who stand also as mighty reformers of national and civic sins and shortcomings should have drawn their inspiration for this part of their activity from the Old Testament and not from the New. Thus Chrysostom, the golden-tongued preacher of the early Christian Church castigates the vices of Antioch in a sermon founded on the words of Isaiah of Jerusalem; Savanarola, the intrepid preacher of civic righteousness, based his great sermons of the year 1496 that created the tremendous sensation in Florence on texts from the Book of Micah and other Old Testament prophets; the Puritans, in their great struggle with a corrupt Parliament and an obstinate king, were fired to resistance largely by the sermons of their great preachers, and these were developed almost altogether from the Old Testament texts; and in the days of the Revolutionary struggle in this country the corruption and tyranny of the English king and his government were roundly denounced by the great preachers of New England, and their texts and illustrations too were taken almost exclusively from the writings of the prophets and the psalmists of ancient Israel.

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[1] George Adam Smith, Modern Criticism and The Preaching of the Old Testament, 271.

It is therefore not too much to say that the great victories in the cause of freedom from the corruptions of established government and of liberty of conscience, notably in England and this country, are due largely to the influence of the spirit of the so-called Old Testament. And basing on this fact we cannot be considered rash in concluding that in as far as corruption stalks in the chambers of government, municipal, state, and national, at present, whereof, sad to say, proofs are appearing here, there and everywhere, and in as far as our legislators sacrifice the public weal to private gain, it is the duty of those upon whom the spirit of the old prophets has descended to thunder the old but undying truths of national and civic righteousness, even into the most unwilling ears. And upon whom rests that spirit of greater right than upon the Jewish preacher, and therefore who should feel the compelling power of speaking forth whenever occasion demands, more than he? If the prophets are indeed our prototypes as preachers then there can be no question as to the propriety, aye, the necessity, of the pulpit's making itself heard clearly and forcefully whenever the principles and the ideals of right are jeopardized in our political life.

There is another point to which attention should be directed in this connection. It is notably the Jewish preachers of the reform school who should feel keenly responsible to do their full duty here. One of the main causes in the inauguration of the reform movement in Judaism was the feeling that the truths of the religion should be reconciled with life. After the ghetto walls had fallen and the Jews had begun to participate in the life of the world it was seen that the rabbinical interpretation of Judaism was impossible of application in the changed conditions; there was a cleft between practice and profession; the truths of Judaism had to be re-interpreted in the light of the new time. If Judaism was to mean something for its followers it had to have a message for the Jew as a citizen of latter-day states as well as it had had a message for his ancestor in the ghetto and for his forefather in Palestine. And the reform movement showed that it indeed had this message, founding as it did upon the ethical monotheism of the prophets

and tracing the development of the universal elements in this doctrine through the various phases of Jewish thought and life. It applied the truth to the life which the Jew was now leading. Truth to life! Let the far-reaching effect of this basic principle of the reform movement be apparent whenever the demand comes. The Jews being citizens of the various free governments that have granted them full rights, are thoroughly interested in the highest welfare of their fatherland, and those who represent them as their religious leaders have certainly their work to do in being constantly watchful that life in all its complexity, public and private, shall rest upon the immovable foundations of right. If in the course of events that phase of life which we call political seems to swerve from the right, then the duty becomes clear; truth must be applied to life also here, and the preacher as the proclaimer of the truth may not hold his peace, for even though the time-servers cry peace, peace, there is no peace until the right conquers and the wrong is dislodged. When David Einhorn, for example, denounced slavery with impassioned speech and fiery invective he presented the true example of the modern follower of the prophets. What though slavery was the burning political question of the day! It was also the greatest public moral issue! He did not scruple to discuss it in the pulpit, although he was preaching in a pro-slavery city and although he was accused of dragging politics into the pulpit. That bogey did not frighten nor deter him, and as little may it deter any sincere preacher who feels the force of the moral aspect in any public question. Then indeed will he be applying the touchstone of truth to the issues of life and will he make his preaching a living quickening influence for the furtherance of all things pure and fine. Through him the souls of the prophets go marching on, for to him as to them nothing that is of ethical import is indifferent.

It scarcely needs to be said that nothing which has been written above is to be understood as advocating in any manner a union of Church and State. The interest of the pulpit in keeping the methods of government pure and incorruptible must be absolutely

unselfish. Particularly in a government like ours in which theoretically Church and State are separated, God be thanked, it becomes the duty of all denominations, equally judged as all are and especially favored as none is, to unite with all other high influences towards the realization of the ideals of justice and equity in the conduct of the affairs of the people. Here all the churches can work together, for no matter what the dogmatic differences may be, common need and the common welfare are the platform whereon all may stand shoulder to shoulder.

Occasions then will arise in the life of every preacher devoted to the service of God, and the truth, when even at the cost of being charged with discussing politics in the pulpit he will speak out, for he will feel that moral issues are involved; among the strongest aids in such reform political movements in various cities as have arisen from the desire to cleanse municipal government from the vile practices of corrupt rings, have been strong preachers; this is only as it should be, for in these cases it is not a question of Republican or Democratic success—it is a contest of righteousness with intrenched corruption, and if the pulpit is not to play a leading role here, who should?

LEARNING AND WEALTH.

A KNIGHT of the quill, rich in mind but poor in worldly goods, once asked old Anschel Rothschild of Frankfort for a loan of five hundred florins. "How is it possible," said the millionaire with naïve astonishment, "that a man should not possess five hundred florins!" The good baron was not haughty or purse-proud: his words expressed some disdain for the writer who frittered away his time in literary pursuits and thus neglected the opportunity for acquiring wealth. It is said that the world is progressing, that in our enlightened age education enjoys greater esteem than in the days of yore. And yet in our time, more than ever, the value of man is gauged by his material success. So many of our Croesuses, forgetful of the wise warning of the Scripture, "Say not in thine heart, My power and the might of my hand have gotten me this wealth," assume a supercilious air toward those who devote themselves to the cultivation of science and art, to the spreading of knowledge and lore. Should they who have been favored by kind Providence and by luck not rather consider it their duty to encourage the work of intellectuality, to keep awake the enthusiasm of the laborers in the vineyard of the Lord? It is a saddening spectacle to behold that men, after having given their best years in preparation for the Jewish ministry, leave the field of their chosen vocation. What is the cause of this desertion, as some of us with sneering and contempt are wont to call it? If we closely examine into the existing conditions, we must in all sincerity admit that weighty reasons induce a young man to turn away from a career which he once embraced with zeal and ardor. The coldness, the apathy, the indifference which prevail, especially

in smaller communities, soon blight his cherished hopes. He struggles hard, he makes his best efforts to infuse some spirituality into the members of his congregation. He tries to fan the spark of Judaism, but ambient materialism stifles the aspirations of his idealism and he feels himself at a forlorn post, as a solitary wanderer in the desert. The materialist elated by his success sneers at the "impractical dreamer": "why do you waste your time in the study of Hebrew, in the research in the musty volumes of antiquity?" What the student considered the task of his life according to the biblical injunction והגית בו יומם ולילה, is ridiculed by our up-to-day Jews, so that even men in high position, re-echoing this contempt, have declared that they can dispense with Hebrew studies and that success can be achieved without the burden of useless lore. O tempora, O mores! A rabbi without Hebrew learning! What a misnomer!

This gross materialism is not only rampant among the nabobs of the congregation, but even among spiritual leaders who, by favorable circumstances, occupy higher, *i. e.,* more lucrative, positions. If not in words, yet in their demeanor they show their superiority over their less salaried brethren. True greatness does not descend so low. Truefully and rightfully it has been said of our lamented Dr. Mielziner והאיש משה ענו מאד. And one of the beautiful characteristics of our never-to-be-forgotten Dr. Wise was his constant practicing of Shammai's words,

הוה מקבל את כל האדם בסבר פנים יפות :

His kindness and urbanity were not measured according to the standing of his colleague.

We feel deep sympathy with our European brethren against whom anti-Semitism hurls unjust attacks, unwarranted accusations. But the sufferings caused by open enemies and passionate adversaries do not wound our soul as deeply as malevolence manifested in our own midst. Against prejudices, against open attacks we can defend ourselves, we can appeal to public opinion. But against malice, against petty spite of our coreligionists we

are defenseless. The conscientious fulfillment of duty does not impress them; prepossessed opinion blinds their eyes and vengeance is sweet.

Such and others are the difficulties that beset the path of many that devote themselves to the service of their people. Witnessing the fate which awaits men advanced in years, the struggles of men of learning who persevered in their vocation, is it not quite natural that here and there a minister seeks another field? האמת נתנה להאמר

In telling the plain truth, I do not intend to discourage a student or a candidate. My purpose is to open the eyes of our people in whose power it is to remedy the evil which I lay bare. It requires so very little to make pleasant the ways of those charged with the great responsibility of advancing the highest interests of Judaism. Let it be repeated again and again, the study of the Thora is the life-element of Israel, is one of the three pillars of our religion. We have withstood the onslaughts of fierce enemies, in the vicissitudes of times and circumstances we have preserved our spiritual inheritance. In all tribulations Israel was buoyed up by the hope in a better future, in the victory of truth over falsehood, of light over darkness, of civilization over barbarism. In the zigzag of his wanderings, here over smooth plains, there over rugged mountains, he was guided by the beacon-light of his faith. Optimism always gained ascendancy over pessimism. The messianic idea, the final triumph of right, justice, and humanity, was ever alive in the Jewish heart. If here and there mediæval scenes are again enacted in our age, if fanaticism still stirs up pillage and murder, we find consolation in the thought that such fiendish deeds fill the world with horror and elicit the sympathy of mankind at large.

This sympathy, which mitigates the still existing evils, which distils drops of sweetness into the cup of bitterness, we should also extend to one another in our own midst. Modesty, benevolence and kindness, not haughtiness and malevolence, should mark our intercourse with one another. "Draw out thy soul to the hungry,"

says the great prophet Isaiah lvii. 10 in his sublime admonition. Let your deeds of charity be the outflow of a truly benevolent heart, and hurt not the feelings of him who needs your help. Show also due regard for those who work for the advancement of the higher interests of Judaism. Not aloofness, not apathy, but warm, sincere appreciation facilitates their great task, gives them perseverance, fills their soul with *Berufsfreudigkeit*. If they are made to feel that they are laborers in the vineyard of the Lord, not the servants of man, they will gladly persevere in their vocation, and regret will not embitter their advancing years.

S. Mannheimer.

SOME POEMS OF H. N. BIALIK.

BY J. L. MAGNES.

JEWISH history has been interpreted by Jews as being either the history of the universal church, or the history of the universal religion in the keeping of a nation, or the history of a national culture. The idea of a church and the idea of a culture not under the domination of the church are antagonistic. For, the church claims for itself supreme authority over all of life, and demands of man that he meditate on eternal verities day and night. A man like Simon b. Shetah who would have none of your earthly institutions, or, a community like the Franciscan monks have recognized the antagonism existing between the church and a national culture. For, a national culture is sovereign in its own nation and is a complex, containing elements of flesh and blood and of this worldliness. The adherents of the idea of the Jewish church ought, therefore, to recognize the sovereignty of no national culture whatsoever. For, how can your life's highest authority, the church, be fundamentally opposed to war, for example, and you, oh Icelandic brother, be filled with Icelandic patriotism? In the opinion of the devotees of the Jewish church, the term, Jewish culture, contains self-contradictory elements. For, that which is Jewish is that belonging to the universal church, and culture is but the work of men and of but fleeting import.

The idea of a universal religion in the keeping of a given nation, however, and the idea of a national culture, are not mutually exclusive. For, a national culture may be of such a nature as to have developed a universal religion. National culture is thus the broader term in that it may have expressed itself in numberless other forms, as well as in terms of universal religion.

If the designation "religious," be applied to those strivings to rise, which are prompted by men's enthusiasm and their faith in life, then has Jewish culture been neither more nor less religious than the culture of any upward-striving nation. But in the technical sense of the term religious, Jewish culture has been, perhaps, more religious than any other, in that one of its main forms of expression has been the interpretation and development of religious documents. But when this is admitted, the number of the forms in which Jewish culture has expressed itself is by no means exhausted. Rather does the Jewish life of the past, its literature, its manifold tradition, reveal to us cultural forms for the expression of all the needs and impulses of a nation.

We are here interested in one of these forms of Jewish culture which, although not a form of "religious" culture, is still distinctively Jewish. We mean the Hebrew language. In every Jewish cultural revival the Hebrew language has played an important part; and to-day, when the Jewish nation is again witness of the marvel of its own renascence, when, like an old tree in the spring time, it is shooting forth new cultural blossoms, the Hebrew language is again fulfilling its mission as the natural vehicle through which young Juda expresses his fears and his hopes.

Nor has there ever been a time such as the present when our fears and our hopes needed the classic Jewish expression possible only in our national language. The present is a dramatic moment in our history. We hear the sound of wailing at the passing of the beauty of former days. We hear the sound of cursing at the thraldom the former days have laid upon us. There is the sigh of despair at the stolidity, immoveableness of the people. There is the cry of rage that the people "does not rise like a lion, does not wake like a whelp" at the call of God's voice. There is the new life that the young feel, the strong hope of a free and united Jewish people. It is a time for the husbanding and the exercise of the deepest emotions, the best thought of which we are capable. It is a time for a "living man, in whom beats a heart,

in whose heart burns a flame, a flame to fire the blood; on whose head shines a beacon to light the way for the people; to whom the fair name of the whole nation and its God is more precious than wealth and fine gold, than vain idols; who has but little of arrogance, much of stern truth, of fierce hatred because of the life of slavery and shame, of pity as great as the sea, of mercy as great as is the breach of his poor people and as is the heaviness of the yoke—all this should stir the heart, should seethe like the sea, all this should burn as a fire, should burn, enflame the blood, all this should thunder day and night, a constant echo: 'Rise, labour, rise, do, for the hand of God is with us." (Surely the People is Grass p. 44.)*

The awakening of Jewry throughout the world is the direct result of the impact of the large life of the world upon it. But the effect of contact with the life of the world has been different in different lands. In America the effect has been to strip Jewish life of most of its distinctive features. This was done, too, for the most part without many misgivings, without much inner struggle. Many advantages have, to be sure, accrued from that ruthless disregard of that which the past held sacred. There has been an increase of manly strength and womanly beauty, and the strange but fascinating spectacle is presented of Jews living an unincumbered and healthy life, without being troubled with questions of Jewish culture, of Jewish misery, of the Jewish future. But such a state of affairs has produced no poetry, no song, no stirring of religious emotions, no fruitful thought. The contact with life of a Jew like Bialik, however, while not made in wanton freedom, is none the less intense. His poems are the expression of the development of his own soul: but they are at the same time typical of the development of that part of the Jewish people which is emerging from the past and facing the future only by dint of much struggle and burning of heart.

There is a specific Jewish poverty, the misery of which is intensified because of the high spiritual development of the Jewish people. Hunger is hunger the world over; but the tragedy of

* Poems by H. M. Bialik, Tuschija, Warsaw, 1901.

Jewish hunger is heightened by the naïve devotion of the Jew to the traditional forms of Jewish life. The bitter beauty of Bialik's "My Song" (p. 145) must appeal even to those who have no understanding of the past. Because of poverty, the poet's father is forced to make the Sabbath as though it were a week-day. The Sabbath table lacks the Sabbath wine and bread, and instead of candles there are a few sticks of smoking pitch. "Seven children, all of them hungry, most of them sleepy, sit about the table. Our mother is dejected when we greet the Sabbath angels. And like a sinner, miserable and depressed because of his sin," the father breaks the bit of black bread for each, and while they are yet tearfully chewing their tasteless morsel, they respond aloud to the Sabbath psalms sung by their father. After the father dies, the mother is forced into the market place to earn a living for her children. The poet describes his boyhood's anguish because of the forced drudgery of his mother. He broods over her misery until "her sighing had entered my bones." Nor, is it otherwise conceivable in this day of ours than that a Jewish poet be filled with sighing at the beginning of his growth. For, the material and the spiritual misery of the Jewish people is an elemental fact of our existence.

But while there is suppressed weeping in a considerable part of Bialik's work, the material poverty of the people is scarcely referred to, and the spiritual poverty of the people becomes such only after reflection, only after contact with a new and presumably richer life. Within the four walls of the Jewish school-house, Jewish life expressed itself spiritually for many generations, unconscious of the allurements of a non-Jewish culture. In his greatest poem, "The Industrious Student" (p. 114), Bialik properly questions the advantage gained by the entrance of the Jew into the culture of the world about him. "Who can prove that man was created for the broad places? And why should the youth not rejoice, too, in his little corner, broad enough for his feet to stand upon? God's hand has always sought out the broad Tora, the Tora which lights up dark and narrow places, the hand of God has

caused its light to pass from the womb of darkness, from the fathers to the children" (p. 130). In "The Industrious Student," in "On the Threshold of the Jewish School-house," a poem of real dignity, giving utterance to his feelings on his return, after a long absence, to the old school-house in his native city, in "To the Agada," a poem whose delicacy of expression is to be compared only with the Jewishness of its imagery, Bialik describes the pure delight that the study of our literature affords its students. "What art thou, oh flint, what art thou, oh flinty rock, as compared with a Hebrew lad whose desire is for the Tora!" "For what are those sounds, and what those flashes that carry the soul up to the heart of heaven! Who has laid up enchantment in the musty volumes, who has given the power to dry words, to hew out flames from the hearts of carcasses and press sparks from dim eyes?" (p 123).

But despite the fact that the industrious student finds delight and honour in "repeating his lesson with fervor, with holiness," his life is one of privation. "I swear by thee and thy holy law that I shall not cease the moving of my lips, nor shall my voice be silent, nor shall I move from my place, make my couch, give rest to my heart or sleep to my eyes, until I have stilled my thirst for thy word." But in the midst of this zeal for learning "The brightness of the morning, the odour of the field fly away like a bird and vanish like a cloud; the earth and its fulness are forgotten, lost." It is nature herself, dancing to meet him like Satan, that makes the first inroads into the unconscious bliss of the student, the past, the people. Entrance into the larger world and a breaking with the former life were not due, in the first instance, so much to the influence of foreign books, as to the primitive force of the world's natural beauty. A whole nation of industrious students had for many generations forced itself to disregard the wonders of earth, sea and sky. Bialik's first poem is addressed "To a Bird," and it is not strange that a poet, the aim of whose youthful training was, that he immerse himself in ancient books, should love nature with all the zeal of a convert. In his description of nature and its effect upon men he is a lyric

poet of the first order. It is doubtful, indeed, whether there have been many greater lyric poets in the literature of the world. The awakening of a nation with its old books, to the wonder of the world with its fresh flowers is the theme of Bialik's "In the Field." The poet escapes from the fruitless grind of his labours into the freedom of the fields, not, however, as a happy bird escapes with song, or as a lion breaking his cage, but as a beaten and despised dog. He wishes to go into the field because there the blessed things of God repose free from fear. "I go out into the field to hear what God is saying from the high grain, what the wind is whispering from the straight, proud, reeds." He buries himself in the waving corn, he plunges into "the stream of their waves." "I press my face to the ground, I fall upon the moist earth, I question the soil and weep a great weeping into its bosom: Tell me, my mother earth, wide, full, great, why does thy bosom not suckle me too, a poor, thirsty soul?..... It is quiet round about..... Suddenly a wind arises and smites the ears of corn, and the high grain sways, is shaken, stirred; the full ears of corn turn to flee like frightened sheep to a new land. And, like the waves of the sea, they are carried from the mountain to the valley, from the valley to the garden land they hurry frightened, and from there onward, onward they flow in their course and keep streaming with a pleasant rumble." The storm passes but "another storm, silent and mighty, has awakened and stirred in my heart slumbering forces, and has fanned slumbering embers into a burning flame. Like a pauper I stand before the majesty of the high grain that gives light and is joyous, and I know only now how great my poverty is; alas, I see it now for the first time!" But it is not alone that he has never known what powers had been hidden from him that makes him sad; it is rather the fact that he has had no share in shaping these forces, no share in raising the grain, in calling down the dews of heaven upon them by means of his prayer, that dejects him.

But these slumbering powers that have been awakened do not represent nature alone. They represent also the large world of

men and letters, the influence of which has caused the industrious student to doubt whether the naive exposition of his ancestral literature can give sufficient content to his new life. The "other storm, silent and mighty" is the striving to reconcile the Jewish life of his earlier days with the life of the present and the future.

He realizes that the past is not the only norm for the life of the future. Even in "The Industrious Student" it is only the principal of the school who has a full appreciation of the complete devotion of the young student to Jewish literature; and the old man can have understanding for the young man's self-sacrifice chiefly because it reminds him of the days of his own youth. But who better than our poet, can sing of the beauties and of the virtues of the days now past for him, of the old Jewish school-house? "Thou shalt not be moved, oh tent of Shem! Yet will I build thee and thou shalt be rebuilt." "Is not here the house of the fashioner of the soul of the nation? Is not here the well-spring of its life-blood that plants within it eternal life, that endows it with its fire and its heat? Are not here its noblemen—future dignitaries that are to fashion its soul upon the potter's stone?" (Indus. Student p. 123) "In you, pages of the Talmud, in you, musty leaves, charming and ancient Agadas, at times of hard study, in you would my soul find comfort....When walking in a land of thick-darkness, the gates of the firmament would open for me, and for my wounded heart there would break beyond the blackness, a new light, an everlasting light. There I would cease pursuing empty shadows and take delight in your shadow, oh leaves; there would I weep and find quiet and there would I drink in comfort from the breast of the Agada.... I had a harp once, but I hung it on the willows where once I sat and wept a great weeping, and in the brooks of tears I lost the harp from my hand. Alas, harp of Jeshurun, sweet instrument of the songs of Israel! This harp was David's and Solomon's. By its means, David saw God, and Solomon viewed Shulamith in his holy vision. And from that time until now there has been no King in Jeshurun —no King, nor harp nor zither; my reed is the voice of weeping,

my harp, like a dove cooing at the watercourses of Babylon. But, there have been in Babylon heroes of the spirit who have sung well, who have known the fruit of the harp, who have understood its song and given ear to its thrumming and weeping; who have known the heart of their people, who have declared what is the people's thought, what its sighing in joy and in trembling—and they have saved the sounds that have broken forth from the bonds of the people's harp—and this was the Agada! And from that time to this when I meditate I take the Agada as a harp—with it I weep at the affliction of my people, with it I sing consolation, I strike up a melody and I am relieved. Then I see the head of my people in the clouds, how exalted it is, how mighty, in the pride of its possessions and its strength; then I understand its latter end, that this worm of a people will yet become master and do great deeds." This fiction as to the origin of the Agada is truer than any array of learned facts about it. So thoroughly is Bialik convinced that the old literature is the real source of Israel's life that it would appear that he rues the day when he left the Jewish school-house On the threshold of the old school he cries out: "I am returned from the hateful valley; I am escaped to tell you that the blows have mastered us, that we have fought like heroes, but we have been routed."

But his despair at the passing of the beauty of the old does not blind him to the many ills inherent therein. Most of his poems do not disguise his wrath at the cruelty of discipline that would exclude most of the joys of a sane, normal, life. "Would that only one ray of light had greeted us with its warmth," he exclaims, "how many were the sheaves we had gathered with joyful song; if only the way of life had led to the Jeshiba! As it is, why have so many souls been lost here in vain?" The effect of the old discipline, however—and, let us add, the "new discipline" has parallel effects—is reprehensible not so much by reason of its destruction of the free life of the number of Jewish students, as by reason of its numbing effect upon the mass of the people itself. The poem "Surely the People is Grass" is a lashing of the supine people, quite worthy of an ancient prophet.

Ah, the people is grass; it is dry as the wood.
Yea, the people! A corpse, endless, monstrous corpse,
Doth not move, doth not stir, doth not tremble when God
Lifts his voice, thunders here, thunders there. Oh, the people!

The people must be a fool, must be rotten to the core, if in such a time of slavery and shame it can not free itself. It endures its servitude, stretching its back to the lash absorbed in the cares of daily life. And it is questionable as to whether the people will ever be aroused from its dying state. "At the time when the trumpet is blown, when the banner is lifted on high, will the dead then awake, will the dead then be stirred?"

Will the people rise again? The sources of the beauty and strength of the past are drying up, the present is for the most part sordid. But our poet has hope of the future. He sees signs here and there of an awakening. The last few years have been the first indication of the coming sunrise. In "More than they who watch for the morning" he pictures the first flush of the dawn: the day gives promise of brightness, but alas very often the clouds unexpectedly appear. The song of a happier future is audible; but is it only an isolated singing, an orphaned song?

Oh, hark! From the depths of the hush of the woodland, there steal-
eth,
Ashamed, as one trembling, a song from afar, a soft singing.
The sorrowful wood, the prone world's desolation all tell us,
Too soon comes the quivering song—how untimely the singing!

For see how our feet are still sunken in mire and in deep mud!
Like lead are the clouds still suspended in air. To the soul, to
The soul cut the wild winds, the wild winds. They reach to the
neck, the
Malevolent waters, to the neck—the malevolent waters.

The wood? What a mourner! Is dumb, is as silent as death, is as
though not
A shaft of bright light ever pierced its dark heart. Its old oaks and
Its birches are naked and silent. They dream of death's shadow,
As though no more hoping for spring; yet their time, their end,
comes not.

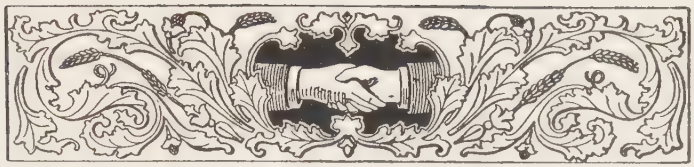
* * * * * *

If, while thou art trembling from biting frost, oh, my beloved,
A song, a soft singing, a murmuring, strikes on thine ear, oh,
Oh, do not despair of the lone and the wandering minstrel,
Nor hark to his song, as it were but a song that is orphaned.
(p. 61)

Notwithstanding the doubt that troubles him as to the future, his real belief is expressed in the closing stanza of a nameless poem p. 93:

Believe! I believe we shall raise up a prophet
To shed one more tear in the sight of the world,
To wail once again—but the clouds shall roar, tremble,
And terror seize all flesh at the sound of his dirge.

What has been said above, has not been intended as an adequate study of Bialik's work. It has meant rather to indicate by means of one definite example, that the Jewish cultural renascence is a fact which can be disregarded only by those who believe, that the creation of distinctly Jewish cultural values ceased with the political emancipation of Jews in a few lands.



THE PROCRUSTEAN BED.

BY EPHRAIM FRISCH.

THERE is a movement in Judaism that has for its aim the getting of a Procrustean bed. Old Procrustes, Greek mythology informs us, was a very clever robber who had a bed of a fixed size into which he put his captives. If they were too long they were shortened; if too short they were stretched to fit. Such a clever idea should of right not be lost; it must be transmitted and perpetuated. Mythology, therefore, passed it on to History. Now, History thought it would be a fine thing to make an improvement on the priceless heirloom. Things of wood and stone are good enough for Mythology; but History, through her long acquaintance with Underlying Forces and Dynamic Thoughts, learned to prefer Things Spiritual. Would it not be a grand idea to invent a Spiritual Procrustean bed, she reflected? So she got Thoughts and Beliefs and Dogmas rough from the factory of the Mind, and after much labor and worry she finally lit upon a working spiritual Procrustean. She applied for a patent, calling her invention a "Creed;" *"for,"* she explained to the Patent Office, *"a Creed may be called a bed, since Consciences are often put to sleep in it."*

Now one might suppose that Conscience, since it has no extension nor resistibility, would be an easy thing to manipulate. Such a supposition, however, shows a woeful unfamiliarity with the true nature of Conscience. *Conscience may be defined as something that hates to be put to sleep, when up, and refuses to be*

disturbed when slumbering. It tosses and kicks when lullabys are sung to it, but once drowsy it falls into a sleep that can scarcely be distinguished from death. After the Church invented the Nicean Creed, it went off into a profound slumber in which it remained for centuries, and from which neither Wyclif, in the 14th century, nor Hus a few decades later, nor Savonarola almost a century after that, could awaken her. It remained for Luther to shake and rouse her violently. The Church rubbed her eyes, got half-way up, muttered something called "Canons of the Council of Trent," and fell asleep again. But, strangely enough, the Lutheran Church, which had been so zealous to wake the Catholic, herself fell asleep in a Creed very similar in design to that of the Church—the "Augsburg Confession." Like all other would-be-inventors, who imagine that the improvement which they have made in a cog or a screw entitles them to a new patent, the Lutheran Church congratulated herself on inventing a new Procrustean. The new bed was tried. The Lutheran consciences, worn out from their sallies on the Fortress of the Vatican, and hemmed in on both sides by the contesting parties in the "Peasant's War," could offer very little resistance to the soothing and soporific voices of Melanchthon and his associates. A deep slumber came upon them. This historic drowsiness overtook the Lutheran Church in 1530, and according to the unanimous opinions of very reliable travelers through Germany, she is still asleep.

Since 1530 there have been any number of Creeds patented—one at Geneva, half-a-dozen in England, and some three score and ten in America. The strange thing about the inventors of all these is that they all aim to torture their own consciences. To take captive somebody else's conscience, and to compress it or stretch it would be quite excusable, and, in addition, would have the sanction of historic continuity, pointing back with genealogical pride to that early, and for that reason mythical, progenitor of the great idea, Procrustes, who did the trick on his enemies. But to elongate or abbreviate one's own conscience doesn't seem to a plain man to have any other excuse than that of originality. Our Jewish people,

who suffer frequent lapses from their standing reputation for originality, are at present inclined to imitate the Gentiles in the matter of beds. They want to patent a new Procrustean—mahogany finish. If any one dares to whisper that Procrusteans are getting out of style, they smile with a superior air and say *their* bed is of a different kind than all those hitherto used.

I have indicated above the tendency of a creed to produce lethargy and stagnation in religion. There is a type of mind that loves ease and the absence of friction, no matter what the cost. The least uncertainty causes no end of trouble to people of such a disposition. To be compelled to make the fraction of an effort to clarify their thoughts spoils their happiness. *They want someone else to think for them.* A creed telling them exactly what to think and how to think it, is precisely what they desire. They accept the creed with open arms and fall asleep even while embracing it. They have no trouble adjusting their minds to the new creed because of the insolidarity of their thought-contents. But they are distinguished for a remarkable phenomenon, and that is, that their fluid minds once flowing into a bed of thought never stirs thereafter but remains forever stagnant.

But that type of mind is not the healthy kind. The mind in its natural robustness bristles with thoughts. Static it never is. They tell an interesting story of Emerson in the days when he was still preaching. It happened once that he found no time to prepare his sermon, so he raked up an old one from his barrel. While he was reading it from his pulpit he suddenly raised his head and said: "No! I take this last sentence back—I don't believe it any more." This story is rich, not only in its humor, but also in its significance. It stands for an ultimate fact in man's experience—*change.* You cannot think today as you did yesterday. A stream of new knowledge has poured in which, whether with or without your approval, changes the fountain-

spring of your mental life. Your new experiences are constantly, ceaselessly modifying the total mass of your mind-stuff. What a revolutionary transformation of thought must have taken place in the minds of Copernicus' contemporaries when he advanced the theory now universally accepted that the universe is helio-centric and not geo-centric! And within the last fifty years of our own time, what a reconstruction of our experience has there been under the influence of Darwin, Wallace, Fiske, and the other evolutionists! One may object that such occasions for great revolutions in thought do not occur often. This is true. But, on the other hand, one must not overlook how completely our experiences are recast day by day by the more subtle influences of life; how a single reverse of fortune or the acquisition of a new friend may partly, if not wholly, re-form our philosophy of life.

If our mind-stuff is so elusive how can we think of bridling it with an iron-cast creed? For bridling, it is, nothing less. A list of articles of faith are drawn up as the fundamental beliefs of the adherents of this or that church. Of course, these articles of faith are to be subscribed to for an appreciable length of time at least, if not meant to be forever unchangeable. But the relative importance of the various articles of the creed wavers and shifts under the very pen of its framers. And soon, with the incoming of new experience and the modification of interests incident thereto, there arises a disparity between the written words and the unrestrained thoughts. It becomes necessary for the adherents of the church to make changes in their creed or to reaffirm it publicly. Either of these alternatives is the horn of a dilemma. A recasting of the creed is, first of all, a queer procedure, for it denies at once the fundamental object of all creeds, i. e., finality of expression on religious experience. Secondly, the church in question sets itself open to the charge of inconsistency and waywardness. And so it happens that another of the main purposes of all creeds, namely, that of presenting to the world the position of the church on questions of religion and life, is frustrated by the reconstruction of its creed, since this very reconstruction is

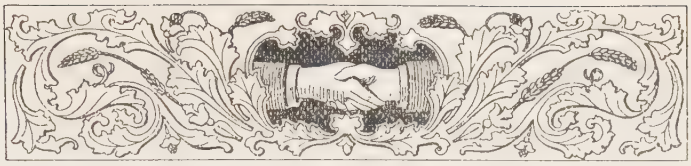
a silent declaration that the church itself has no fixed views on the subjects whereon it had pretended to speak with authority. And, finally, the need for reformation is checked by the respect which the church has acquired for its creed. For men are by nature extremely respectful towards the established order of things, especially when the established order has the dignity of age, and the cry "Let well enough alone!" is heard with reverence not in politics only. In addition to this reverence there is also developed a certain tenderness of feeling for the creed as such. As the miser gets to value his horde, not for its use as a medium of exchange, but for itself, so do we all acquire a passion for such creations of our minds as were at first used as mere means, but which through association have become for us ends in themselves. We now love the creed *per se* and hate to abandon and even to modify it.

The church therefore chooses the second horn of the dilemma, that of reaffirming its creed despite the fact that it has outgrown it. With great solemnity it declares publicly its adherence to beliefs against which it inwardly frets. The custodian of truth, it lies publicly with a boldness which only a corporation can assume. Deep in its own heart it knows that it is not true to itself. For the world it may put on a serene face, but those who understand the inner life know that it is quarreling with itself, and they are amazed at this unnecessary self-torture. This quarreling with oneself reminds them, perhaps, of the story General Grant relates about General Bragg in the second book of his "Memoirs." General Bragg was at one time acting both as company commander and as quartermaster. "As commander of the company he made a requisition upon the quartermaster—himself—for something he wanted. As quartermaster he declined to fill the requisition, and endorsed on the back of it his reasons for so doing. As company commander he responded to this, urging that his requisition called for nothing but what he was entitled to, and that it was the duty of the quartermaster to fill it. As quartermaster he still persisted that he was right. In this con-

dition of affairs Bragg referred the whole matter to the commanding officer of the post. The latter, when he saw the nature of the matter referred, exclaimed: 'My God, Mr. Bragg, you have quarreled with every officer in the army, and now you are quarreling with yourself!'"

Grant explains that General Bragg was very methodic in his ways. The good general, in his passion for exactness, carried on a correspondence with himself thus in all seriousness. History, who always tells her jokes at least twice, is about to repeat herself again. The General Bragg incident may soon recur, the role played by the general now impersonated by the Jewish people. We, too, want to become methodic. We, too, want to divide our personalities into two departments. Our living religious convictions will make requisitions upon our creed; they will proceed to scold each other. Outsiders looking on will exclaim in astonishment: "In Heaven's name, why do these people quarrel with themselves?"

It's rather late to begin to imitate our neighbors. If they enjoy a game of "tug of war" with conscience, why, we must look upon them with leniency, for they are but young, and youth will have its pranks and fooleries. But we Jewish old folks, whose age and history require us to act in a more dignified manner, shall we make ourselves childish?



KIDDUSH HASHEM AND HILLUL HASHEM.

BY HARRY G. FRIEDMAN.

WE are all familiar with the evolutionary doctrine that organisms, in the strife for self-preservation, undergo such modifications and develop such adaptations as fit them for continued existence. A parallel to this biological phenomenon seems to confront us in the history of Judaism; in its life, too, there are evolved concepts, which, transformed under the stress of circumstance and shaped under an adverse environment, make for the maintenance of Judaism. Of such a nature are the concepts Kiddush Hashem—the *"sanctification of the Holy Name,"* and Hillul Hashem,—the *"profanation of the Holy Name."* These two terms are found in the Bible first to designate chiefly a priestly notion. According to it God is sanctified through the proper observance of ritual requirements, His Holy Name is profaned through the improper performance of sacerdotal functions, and through idolatry. "And ye shall not profane my Holy Name, but I shall be hallowed among the children of Israel" (Lev. XXII, 32), occurs in a context that is concerned with priest and sacrifice.[1]

[1] In the Biblical use of these terms we have two conceptions: (1) God is sanctified by certain acts of men, (2) God is sanctified through his own conduct. That God is sanctified through acts of men, which are ethical in character, and profaned through unethical conduct, is the view that meets us in Amos (ii, 7) and Jer. (xxxiv, 16). He is sanctified through the proper observance of ritual re-

The same terms assume a far larger meaning in Ezekiel. Here God is no longer sanctified or profaned by the acts of men. A new doctrine, springing from the exile, is signified by these words. Basing himself on the older view, appearing frequently in the Bible, that a special relation exists between God and Israel, Ezekiel declares that God's Holy Name is profaned through Israel's exile, because Israel's degradation is for the nations synonymous with God's impotence, and he prophesies that God's name will again be sanctified through the restoration of Israel, God's exponent, to his ancestral home, and the annihilation of his enemies, for thereby will God's omnipotence again be manifested to the world. Ezekiel's view of Kiddush Hashem, as well as the priestly ritual notion, which also occurs in the same prophet, are both supplanted by a

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quirements, and profaned by their improper performance, chiefly by the priests (Lev. xxii, 32; x, 3; xix, 8; xxi, 1-6; xxii, 2; Ez. xx, 39, and Malachi i, 12), by Moloch worship (Lev. xviii, 21; xx, 3), idolatry (Ez. xx, 39), and perjury (Lev. xix, 12). Such is the priestly notion. A different idea of Kiddush Hashem appears in Num. xx, 12; xxvii, 14; Deut. xxx, 51, where the proper performance of a miracle that will glorify God seems to be the meaning of the term.

That God is sanctified through his own acts, is a notion that appears in Isaiah (v, 6, i. e., through meting out justice), and especially in Ezekiel. On account of the special relation between God and Israel, Israel's distress at any time (xx, 9, 14, 22), and its exile (xxii, 16; xxxvi, 22, 23; xxxix, 7), constitutes a profanation of the Holy Name, because it reflects upon God's power (xxxvi, 20), in the opinion of the nations. God will therefore sanctify his Holy Name again, i. e. He will impress the knowledge of his omnipotence upon the nations, first through the restoration of Israel from captivity (xxxvi, 22, 23; xx, 41), and then through the destruction of Israel's enemies (xxviii, 22, 25, 26) and finally through the annihilation of the hosts of Gog (xxxviii, 16, 17, 23; xxxix, 7, 26, 28). The element contributed by Ezekiel to the later development of Kiddush Hashem is, perhaps, the notion that God's glory must be preserved before the world (לעיני הגוים). The other notions contained in the Biblical use of the two terms seem to have been without effect on the later conceptions.

conception different in character, content, and aim. As a result of the persecutions which begin with Maccabean times, and the antagonistic attitude which the world adopts towards Judaism, Kiddush Hashem and Hillul Hashem take on a new denotation at the time when Judaism begins its struggle for existence. Loyalty to Judaism and devotion to its laws and institutions under all circumstances, the duty to suffer martyrdom for it, the obligation to avoid all conduct that diminishes the respect of the Jew for his faith, or discredits it or its adherents before the world,—in short the *preservation and glorification of Judaism* is the meaning which the terms sanctification of the Holy Name and profanation of the Holy Name received in Talmud and Midrash and which they have retained even to this day.

Not until we come to the Talmud do we find Kiddush Hashem and Hillul Hashem used to denote the principles of conduct which seeks to preserve and glorify Judaism; the first as a positive principle, demanding acts that will maintain and bring honor to the faith, the second, as a negative principle, requiring the avoidance of any deed that would disgrace Judaism or the Jewish community. But though the *terms* are not met with earlier in this sense, the origin of the *ideas* for which these terms stand must be sought in a period antedating the Talmud. Martyrdom, at least, which is always the most conspicuous element in Kiddush Hashem, can be traced back in literature to Maccabean times. We may, therefore, perhaps find the roots of our concepts first in the character of post-exilic Judaism, and second in the circumstances of the Syrian war. Post-exilic Judaism rested on a love for the Thora, its study and fulfillment. Judaism was becoming preeminently a church; the religious institutions and practices, that had grown up around the synagogue, had taken a firm grasp on the affections of the people. From the very nature of Judaism, from its conception of one God, who was the source of the religion in its entirety, it was impossible for the Jew to accept polytheism as a belief or incorporate idols and heathenish rites and practices into his worship. The test came, when, for the first time in its

history, Judaism, *as a religion,* was assailed, and Antiochus Epiphanes endeavored to force upon the Jew Greek idolatry. Then it was that the loyalty and devotion to Judaism which had been fostered since the return from the exile asserted itself; death was deemed preferable to the violation of God's commands either through idolatry or the transgression or even the omission of a religious obligation; to suffer martyrdom in the defense of Judaism became a duty.

To teach the doctrine that the Jew must maintain his fidelity to his faith even at the sacrifice of life, is an evident purpose of the book of Daniel. Rather than bow down to idols, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah permit themselves to be cast into the fiery furnace (ch. III); rather than omit his daily prayers, Daniel violates the express prohibition of the king, even though he is aware that death is the penalty. They who voluntarily risk their lives for the fulfillment of the Law are protected by God, who works miracles (chs. III, VI) for the delivery of those "that trusted in Him, and changed the king's word, and have yielded up their bodies,[1] that they might not serve nor worship any God but their God" (III, 28). A more exalted and nobler expression of loyalty to the faith and submission to martyrdom is Psalm XLIV. "All this has come upon us, yet have we not forgotten thee, neither have we proved false to thy covenant. . . . If we have *forgotten the name of our God* and *spread forth our hands to a strange God,* shall not God search this out, for he knows the secrets of the heart. *Yea for thy sake are we killed all the day long, we are accounted as sheep for slaughter* (vv. 19-23).[2]

Outside of the Bible, in the books that occupy themselves with the Maccabean period, the duty of martyrdom for Judaism and the Thora is repeatedly dwelt on. In I Maccabees the faithful prefer death to the desecration of the Sabbath by engaging in battle

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[1] ויהבו נשמיהון seems to be, like מסרו עצמם in Talmud, an expression for martyrdom.

[2] Cf. Schreiner, Die jüngsten Urteile über das Judenthum, p. 168.

(II, 38). The second book of Maccabees tells of the heroic priest, the hoary Eleazar, who gave his life for his refusal to partake, or even to pretend to partake, of the forbidden meat (ch. VI), and narrates the story of the supreme sacrifice of the mother and her seven sons, who could neither be persuaded by the most alluring promises nor compelled by the most horrible tortures to become faithless to their religion. The steadfastness and loyalty of these martyrs is the theme of the fourth book of Maccabees,—a long eulogy on their heroism. "Thou, O God, knowest that I could have saved myself, but I die tortured by the flames for the sake of the Law," Eleazar is here (VI, 27.) made to exclaim with his dying breath. "Glorious, O tyrant, in spite of thy will, are the favors you have bestowed upon us, for you have privileged us to show forth through the noblest suffering our loyalty to the Thora,"[1]— these are the last words of one of the martyred brothers. Loyalty to the faith, similarly, forms the theme of the third book of Maccabees, which, like Daniel, tells us that a miracle was performed for those who refused to worship idols at the command of King Ptolemy (ch.V).

Thus there grew up in Maccabean times under the stress of persecution a loyalty to Judaism and the Thora, that demanded and glorified martyrdom.[2] The book of Daniel and the literature concerned with the period in which it had its origin, created prototypes of martyrs, to whom reference is made frequently in later literature. From Daniel and the third book of Maccabees came the idea that miracles are wrought for such as risk their life for their religion. The doctrine of immortality that, suggestively enough, is first clearly stated in Daniel (XII, 3) assured the martyr of a reward in the future life greater than all earthly good; the promise of the next world as a consolation to him who dies for his religion appears repeatedly in IV Maccabees. We find, therefore, that although the term is absent in this literature of the pre-

[1] IV Mac. xi, 12; Cf. also ix, 29.

[2] Cf. W. Bousset, die Religion des Judenthums, p. 168.

Talmudic period, most of the ideas that are later associated with Kiddush Hashem are already present.

"Sacrifice thy life and sanctify My name,"[1]—the duty of martyrdom, in itself an outgrowth of persecution was through subsequent ages kept alive by persecution. As time went on, ever renewed sacrifice was demanded for the preservation of Judaism. Not only death, but also life, conduct, was needed in its defense, and thus arose the concept Kiddush Hashem, embracing not only martyrdom, but all acts that strengthened and glorified Judaism within and beyond the bounds of the Jewish community. Martyrdom remained, however, at all times the chief connotation of Kiddush Hashem. The secondary aspect of it was developed more distinctly in its complementary notion,—Hillul Hashem, which imposed upon every one the duty to avoid everything which might disgrace Jew or Judaism in the eyes of a hostile world.

Both of these concepts are purely formal in character. They possess no definite content of their own, but serve as general principles of action. Both are treated in the Halacha on the one hand, and in the Haggada, on the other; the legal treatment seeks to determine when these principles become operative, the Haggadic elaboration bestows upon them a content of legend and sentiment, narrating specific and notable deeds that come under these categories, and illustrating each by acts of merit or demerit for praise or blame.

For convenience, we take up first the legal aspect of Kiddush Hashem and Hillul Hashem. In the catalogue of commandments the sanctification of the Holy Name and the profanation of the Holy Name both find a place, respectively as commandatory and prohibitory laws. "The whole house of Israel is commanded to sanctify the great name, for it is said (Lev. XXII, 32) 'and I shall be sanctified in the midst of the children of Israel,' and it is warned against profaning the Holy Name, for it is said (ibid.), 'You shall not profane my Holy Name,' "—so Maimonides opens

[1] Sifra, Emor 9.

his chapter on Kiddush Hashem (Hilchoth Yesode Hatthora ch. V). Kiddush Hashem belongs to the commandments that concern the "duties of man to God," being, according to Weiss, the chief of them (Dor Dor ve-Dorshov, v. I, p. 222). It is, moreover, obligatory only upon the Jew (Sanhedrin 74b). For the law Kiddush Hashem means martyrdom, and martyrdom is declared obligatory in the following cases:[1] (1.) for the observance of the prohibition against idolatry, immorality, and murder;[2] (2.) for the observance of laws of minor importance, (a) when the attempt is made to compel their public violation, or (b) in times of persecution where the intention is to force Israel to surrender its religion.[3] Hillul Hashem receives less definite treatment; Maimonides (l. c.)

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[1] Sanhed., 74a; Aboda Zara, 27b; Jer. Shebi., iv, 2; Jer. Sanh., iii, 5; H. Yesode Hatthora, ch. v; Yore Deah, 157, 1.

[2] The limitation of the duty of martyrdom to these three instances dates from the time of Hadrian's persecution. According to Weiss (Dor Dor ve-Dorshov, I, p. 222), and Graetz (Gesch. der Juden, p. 170), this represents a restriction of the older view, wherein all laws were deemed worthy of martyrdom. Graetz looks upon this law as a compromise between this older view, and the opinion of R. Ishmael, who permits even idolatry under compulsion (Cf. Sanh. 74a; Aboda Zara 27b; Graetz, l. c., also p. 463).

[3] Cf. also Tosefta, Shabbath 16 (15). Here in these additions we have the older tendency reasserting itself, and the limitations upon martyrdom practically withdrawn. Maimonides both in his code (l. c.) and in his Epistle on Persecution (Cf. Schreiner, op. cit.) takes a liberal view of the duty of martyrdom. In the former he condemns those who would sacrifice themselves, where the law does not expressly demand martyrdom; in the latter he does not include Islam under idolatry, and, therefore, does not obligate one to accept death rather than to submit to forcible conversion to Mohammedanism. He demands only that such a convert should at once leave the country. The Shulhan Aruch (l. c.), on the other hand, permits one to accept death, even where the law does not demand it. This is considered a merit by some. Cf. Pahad Yizhak, s. v. יעבר ירדנ ואל where a responsum to this effect is quoted.

defines it as the negative of Kiddush Hashem, namely, to refuse to submit to martyrdom in the instances required by the law.[1]

Both principles are further used as a reason for abstaining from acts which would bring discredit upon Judaism. So to employ deceit in order to award a favorable decision to a Jew in a law-suit against a non-Jew is forbidden on account of Kiddush Hashem,[2] i. e. in order to maintain respect for Judaism. And, similarly, to retain anything lost by a non-Jew, or to profit by his mistake, where such conduct will lead to the profanation of the Holy Name, is forbidden.[3] Likewise, to rob a non-Jew of anything is prohibited for the same reason.[4] From the legal treatment of the two principles we may, therefore, conclude that their aim is to defend and preserve Judaism and its practises, and to maintain the respect of the outside world for the religion and its adherents.

The Halacha gives but a meager content to Kiddush Hashem and Hillul Hashem; the Haggada enriches them with a variety of ideas. Going beyond the bare specification of the duty and conditions of martyrdom, it seeks to impress upon the mind the heroism and laudable example of the martyr's act. With a love for concreteness and detail, it enumerates many martyrs, discourses upon their merit, tells of the many miracles performed for them, describes the manner of their death, and peering even into the world beyond, assigns them their place in heaven. Deeds of ancient days, which have glorified God or Israel, are brought under the new category of Kiddush Hashem. Likewise under Hillul

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[1] Cf. also Yore Dea 157, 2.

[2] B. Kamma 113b.

[3] Ibid.; H. Gezela ve-Abeda, ch. xi, Hoshen Mishpat 348.

[4] J. B. Kamma iv, 3. The government is here reported to have sent two officers to study Thora from Rabban Gamliel. They studied Bible, Mishna, Talmud, Halachoth, and Aggadoth. Finally they said to him, "Your entire Thora is beautiful, and admirable, except two things. . . ." One of these being the statement גזלו של יש' אסור וש"ל עכו"ם מותר, Rabban Gamliel decreed that גזלת עכו"ם should be forbidden on account of Hillul Hashem.

Hashem a great variety of acts meriting condemnation are pointed out. By a play of fancy the principle is even made a motive for God's conduct, or a standard for measuring some of His deeds. We are here in the living thought, fancy and sentiment of a people, and not amid dry legal generalizations.

For the law, as we have seen, Kiddush Hashem, meant almost exclusively martyrdom. In the Haggadic development, martyrdom still remains the foremost element.[1] In the law, we have observed a tendency to limit the conditions under which it was obligatory; in the Haggada the trend is in the opposite direction. Inasmuch as Kiddush Hashem means the defense of Judaism, martyrdom is endured for laws that are especially distinctive of it. Thus the Thora, the study of which had been forbidden by Hadrian, called forth its martyrs. To surrender life for the Thora and the commandments became a synonym of martyrdom for the sake of the sanctification of the Holy Name.[2] Akiba,[3] Hanina b. Tradion, and their companions[4] suffered death for the public teaching of the Thora. Idolatry, particularly abhorrent to the Jew, is avoided by many at the cost of life. Among others Abraham,[5] Hananiah, Mishael and Azariah,[6] the mother and her

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[1] Some of the terms for martyrdom are, מסרו עצמן על קדושת השם (Pesach. 53b); מכרי נפשיהי אקדושת השם (Ber. 19a); נתן נפשו על קדשת השם (Pesikta 87a); מסר עצמו על התורה ועל המצות (Tosefta Taanith (Ed. Fr.) iii, 7). Cf. F. Perles, Bousset, Religion des Judenthum, etc., kritisch untersucht, p. 68. In medieval works יחוד השם is substituted for קדושת השם.

[2] Weber, Jüdische Theologie, p. 26. Der Ausdruck für das Martyrium ist nach Pesachim 53b. מכר עצמו על קדושת השם nach der Tosefta zu Taanith c. 4 (3), מכר עצמו על התורה ועל המצות.

[3] Berach. 61b. Cf. also Bacher, Die Agada der Tannaiten I, p. 265.

[4] Aboda Zara 17b; Sanh. 110b; Pesach. 50a. Cf. Graetz, Gesch. der Juden, iv, p. 175.

[5] Num. R. ch. 2.

[6] Sanh, 93a; 110b; Pesach. 53b, 118a; Yalkut to Ez. 37, 4; Sifra, Emor 9; Sota 10b; Taanith 18b.

seven sons,[1] are repeatedly eulogized for their refusal to worship idols. Circumcision, too, claimed its martyrs. With express mention of the last two laws, Rabbi Simon b. Eleazar says, "Every law for which Israelites sacrificed their lives, at the time when the government forbade its observance, as idolatry and circumcision, is still firmly adhered to; whereas any law for which Israelites did not devote themselves to death, as phylacteries, is still but laxly observed."[2] Some were content to die even for the observance of the dietary laws. Aba bar Zemina, when threatened with death for refusing to eat the meat of an improperly slaughtered animal (בשר נבלה) replied, "You may slay me, if you will, but I will not eat this meat."[3] A certain Elisha is reported to have worn Tephillin, and defied the prohibition of the government at the risk of death,[4] and some, it seems, thought life of less importance than the violation of the law, which required the eating of unleavened bread on passover.[5] There are mentioned, moreover, those who died, not for the observance of any particular law, but because they glorified Israel by some utterance. So Ketiah bar Shalom suffers death for affronting Caesar by proving to him that Israel could never be annihilated.[6] Martyrdom in the defense and glorification of Israel's religion and its laws is in these instances the meaning of Kiddush Hashem.[7]

Though martyrdom holds so prominent a place in the notion of Kiddush Hashem, other ideas are also present in this concept.

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[1] Gittin 57b.

[2] Sab. 130a, Sifre, Deut. xii, 23.

[3] J. Shebi. iv, 2; J. Sanh. iii, 5.

[4] Sabbath 130a.

[5] "Why are you crucified," one is asked. Because I have eaten unleavened bread on passover. "Why are you condemned to the stake and the sword?" Because we have read the Thora and circumcised our children. . ." Quoted in Graetz, vol. iv, p. 172, Schreiner, op. cit., p. 170.

[6] Aboda Zara 10b. Similarly R. Trahun, Sanhed. 39a.

[7] See, also, Shir R. to iii, 7.

Acts that bring glory to Judaism come under this caption. Thus the vicarious punishment of Saul for his mistreatment of the Gibeonites, through the execution of his sons and the exposure of their bodies,—an act that, according to the Talmud, won many converts to Judaism,—is commended as Kiddush Hashem.[1] Joshua is said to have kept the oath which the Gibeonites had exacted from him through fraud for the sake of Kiddush Hashem.[2] Simon b. Shetach, in the familiar story, returns the jewels, because the glorification of the God of Israel by the heathen is to him worth more than worldly gain.[3] Even Ezekiel's doctrine of Kiddush Hashem wherein God acts for the sake of his own glory finds an echo, when Zophnath bath Peniel exclaims in her misery, "O Lord of the Universe, if thou wilt not pity us, why wilt thou not have pity on the holiness of Thine own great name."[4] In a few rare cases the term, the sanctification of the Holy Name, is also applied to purely moral acts,[5] such as the self-restraint of Joseph in his master's house and Judah's public confession of his relations to Tamar. And finally strict adherence to the belief in the unity of God is termed Kiddush Hashem.[6] Supreme loyalty and devotion to the faith, a deep-seated love for it, finding expression in the sacrifice of life for its defence and glory, a jealous care of its honor, fearing to sully it before the world,—these constitute Kiddush Hashem.

The obverse of this concept,—the duty to refrain from anything that might prove derogatory to Judaism,—is even more emphasized under Hillul Hashem,—the profanation of the Holy

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[1] J. Sanh. vi, 6; Sota 10b.

[2] Gittin 46a, also Joma 84a.

[3] J. B. Mezia ii, 10.

[4] Gittin 58a.

[5] Sota 10b. See Maimonides' (H. Yesode Hatthora, ch. 5, end), lofty conception of Kiddush Hashem based chiefly on Joma 86a, and also on this passage.

[6] Deut. R. 2. For other acts described as Kiddush Hashem, see Ber. 20a, also Sabbath 89b.

Name. Under this term is subsumed all that detracts from the esteem in which Judaism, its Thora and the Jewish community should be held. So, in the thought of the Haggada, even divine acts, not in consonance with the character of God, reflecting either on his justice or omnipotence, would be Hillul Hashem. For God to have suffered the indiscriminate destruction of righteous and wicked in Sodom,[1] or the slaying of David, the righteous king, by his rebellious son[2] would have been a profanation of the Holy Name. That God should allow Israel to remain in misery and distress is similarly regarded, because the intimate union of God and Israel suggests to the world that God is powerless to defend his chosen people. When Israel was exiled, the Midrash tells us, God, going among the nations, heard them say,"The God of this nation punished Pharaoh, Sisera, Senacherib and others, but he cannot remain young forever," and thus was his name profaned.[3] Again Israel is made to plead with God, "Let me not be as naught in comparison with the flocks of Thy companions (the other gods). If the flocks of Thy companions prosper, while Thy children suffer, Thy name is profaned."[4] As nothing must be allowed to depreciate God's greatness, so irreverence towards Him, for example, Honi's attitude in prayer, is Hillul Hashem.[5] As the Thora is the presentation of Israel's religion, nothing must be allowed to discredit it with Jew or non-Jew. Rabban Gamliel is reported for this reason to have forbidden the robbery of a non-Jew.[6] The scholar who is the representative and guardian of the Thora is especially warned to live and act in a manner which will maintain reverence and respect for it. If he earns such a reputation, that his colleagues must blush for him, if he does not

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[1] Gen. R. 49 (9).

[2] Sanhed. 107a.

[3] Echa R., Pesichta 15.

[4] Shir R. to i, 15.

[5] Taanith 23a. See other instance, J. Sanh. iii, 7, and Sanh. 46a.

[6] J. B. Kamma iv, 3.

pay his debts promptly, or goes four cubits "without Thora and Tephillin," or indulges in feasting everywhere, he profanes the Holy Name.[1] For it is the office of the teacher to make the Thora beloved through his life and conduct; to disgrace his sacred learning through unscrupulous methods in business or boorish manners in social intercourse is Hillul Hashem.

To abstain from Hillul Hashem, from bringing disgrace on Judaism or the Jewish community, is a duty of prime importance, and it is the more obligatory, the more prominent and representative the position of the individual. Acts, which are moral failings from our standpoint, when otherwise overlooked by the law,[2] are prohibited when they involve the discredit of the faith or the community,[3] and public acts, which serve as an example to others to violate a law, or bring into disrepute the religion or its adherents, are especially condemned. No honor is to be shown a teacher, where the profanation of the Holy Name is involved.[4] Impostors are to be exposed on account of Hillul Hashem.[5] As the excommunication of an Ab beth Din, who has gone astray, would lead to scandal, the sentence is not, in the first instance, carried out.[6] The scholar, who is to be a model to the people, is especially urged, as we have seen, to avoid anything that discredits his position or the Thora. If he cannot restrain his passions, it is required of him, that he commit his sin secretly,[7] at least, so that his failing be not taken as example or result in dishonor to his religion.[8] A judge must not pervert justice,[9] because it leads, among other evils, to the profanation of the Holy Name. To avoid Hillul Hashem, a

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1 Yoma 86a, also Aboda Zara 28a.
2 B. Kamma 113b.
3 Yoma 84a.
4 Yoma 86.
5 Ber. 19b.
6 Moed Katon 17a, also top of page.
7 Moed Katon 17a.
8 See, also, Kid, 40a; Hagiga 16a. Also Aboth I, 11.
9 Yalkut (Lev.), 609.

fanciful Haggada has it, David was on the point of committing the grave sin of idolatry, in order that his death at the hands of his son, should be regarded as a punishment for this transgression and not be made the ground for charging God with injustice toward the righteous.[1] The injury that accrues to the religion from the force of public example in the violation of the law[2] is emphasized constantly under Hillul Hashem and, consequently, the duty of the Talmid Hacham,—whose conduct is so much more potent for good or evil,—to abstain from the public profanation of the Holy Name is especially dwelt on; for Hillul Hashem expresses negatively what Kiddush Hashem means positively,—the defense of the faith; Kiddush Hashem meaning its preservation and glorification primarily through the death of the martyr, Hillul Hashem denoting the maintenance of respect and honor for it through life and conduct.

If we understand by Hillul Hashem, acts that are injurious to Judaism, we can readily comprehend why, at a time when the existence of Jew and Judaism was assailed, Hillul Hashem should be regarded as so grave a crime. It is represented as one of the six prohibitions imposed upon Adam.[3] Its commission is so serious an offense, that intentional or unintentional it receives immediate punishment.[4] It is among the crimes that are responsible for the desolation of the land.[5] R. Ishmael says, that if any one is guilty of profaning the Holy Name, repentance cannot suspend his punishment, the day of atonement cannot bring forgiveness, suffering cannot atone, but all is held in suspense and death only can atone.[6] R. Akiba, going even further, places him who has profaned the Holy Name in one of the five classes of

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[1] Sanh. 107a.

[2] Ber. R. 39 (3).

[3] Deut. R. 2.

[4] Kid. 40a; Aboth iv, 4; also v, 9. See, also, Taanith 23a.

[5] Shabbath 33a, Aboth v, 9.

[6] Yoma 86a.

sinners for whom there is no forgiveness.[1] Hillul Hashem is a sin greater than idolatry,[2] it is the greatest of all sins,[3] and it were better that a letter from the Thora be plucked out than that God's name be profaned,[4]—these are some of the sentiments that are given in the Talmud.

Great as is the importance attached to the negative duty of abstaining from all that undermines Judaism, the positive glorification of it is a duty of higher merit. "Greater is the sanctification of the Holy Name, than its profanation," says the Talmud. And again, in another passage we read, "It is well that a letter be plucked from the Thora, that thereby God's name be sanctified."[5] By the Midrash Kiddush Hashem, in the sense of martyrdom, is made the condition of Israel's deliverance from Egypt,—"On this condition have I led you out of Egypt, that you sacrifice your lives in order to sanctify My name."[6]

What the emotions of the martyr were, when he gave up his life for his religion, what an intensity of devotion to God there showed itself in his act, we may perhaps discover from a passage like this: R. Akiba, in dying, says to his disciples, "All my days have I been distressed in regard to the verse, 'Thou shalt love the Lord, thy God, with all thy *soul* . . .,' that is, even if he takes thy soul. I said, 'When will it be in my power to fulfill it . . . .'"[7]

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[1] Aboth d. R. Nathan ch. 38 (beg.). Cf. Bacher, Agada der Tannaiten, vol. I (2d ed.), p. 280, to this passage.

[2] J. Nedar. iii, 9.

[3] Ibid.; Yalkut to Ez. xx, 39.

[4] J. Sandh. vi, 7; Jebam. 79a.

[5] Jebam. 79a.

[6] Sifra, Emor 9. Cf. also Sifre Reeh 32; also Gen. R. 39 (3), Shir R. to viii, 8, Tanhuma to Lech Lecha (beg.).

[7] Berach. 61a. Martyrdom, as the exhibition of love for God, appears also in the following passage. "Among those who love God and obey his commandments, are meant those Israelites who live in Palestine and endanger their lives for the fulfillment of the law." Quoted in Schreiner (op. cit.).

Martyrdom to him was not merely a duty, but the expression of supreme love for God and the utmost fidelity to His Law.

Martyrdom was regarded as of the highest merit, it was accounted greater than study of the Thora,[1] and the martyr's reward was deemed greater than that of the scholar. For him who was ready to sacrifice his life for his faith, as we have already seen in Daniel, miracles were wrought. God himself is represented as going to the rescue of Abraham,[2] and the angels contend for the privilege of saving the companions of Daniel from the fiery furnace.[3] "Why is it that miracles were performed for former generations, and not for us?" asks Rab Pappa. "It can not be because we study less. . . . . , and yet, if Rab Jehuda would but take off his slipper, rains would descend, whereas we afflict ourselves and cry aloud, and no one heeds us." And the answer of Abaye is, "Former generations gave up their lives to sanctify the Holy Name, we do not sacrifice ourselves for the sanctification of the Holy Name."[4] So widespread seems to have been the notion that miracles would be wrought for him who risks his life in defense of Judaism,[4] that in Sifra we have it stated in opposition to this view, that no miracles are performed for those who risk their lives, anticipating that they will be rescued by supernatural means.[5]

The esteem for the martyr and for him who sanctifies the Holy Name, and the virtue attributed to his act, are very great. His merit is conceived to ward off evil,[6] it is operative even after his death,[7] and remembered to his descendents.[8] Thus Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah are rescued because Judah had publicly

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[1] Berach. 20a; Sanh. 110b.

[2] Pesach. 118a.

[3] Berach. 20a.

[4] Ibid.; H. Gezela ve-Abeda, ch. xi. Hoshen Mishpat 348.

[5] Sifra, Emor 9. The story of Lulianos and Papos that follows here, seems to be an attempt to explain, why miracles do not always occur to save the martyr.

[6] Gen. R. 74.

[7] Sifre 11 (10).

[8] Sota 10b, 36a (see also Joseph's reward Sota 10b).

sanctified God's name. The martyr is rewarded, his death is avenged,[1] he wins the future world by the deed of a moment,[2] and is assigned a place in heaven that no other can approach.[3] He has, moreover, as his consolation, the thought that his example ensures the perpetuity of the faith for which he gave his life.[4]

We may now, on the basis of the foregoing, seek to determine the nature of the two principles, Kiddush Hashem and Hillul Hashem, and the character of their content. Among those who have written on this topic it seems to be almost a unanimous opinion that these concepts are ethical principles, that their content is either wholly, or, at least, for the most part, ethical conduct, i. e. acts concerned with the relations of man to man. Furthermore, among some writers, the conception seems to be that there is involved in these principles something of a missionary aim, a demand for conduct that will reveal and teach morality to all.[5]

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[1] Rosh Hashana 23a, Sifra Emor 9.

[2] Aboda Zara 10b.

[3] Sanh. 110b

[4] Shab. 130a.

[5] L. Lazarus, "Als Heiligung oder Entweihung Gottes werden vielmehr auch reine sittliche menschlichen Verkehr betreffende Verhältnisse bezeichtnet." (Zur Charakteristik der Talmudischen Ethik, p. 40). And again, after pointing out a conscious distinction in Jewish thought between the ethical and religious, he says in the same essay, "Angesichts einer solchen offenbaren Unterscheidung des Religiösen und des Sittlichen ist es nun durchaus charakteristisch dass das Sittliche vorzugsweise den Inhalt der Heiligung oder Entweihung des göttlichen Namens ausmacht. Das eigentliche Wesen der letzteren besteht nun darin, dass durch die Handlung der Menschen die Macht und Wirkungskraft des Sittlichen offenbar werde." (ibid. p. 44. see also p. 45). M. Lazarus, and Elbogen quoting M. Lazarus, say, "Das innigste und edelste Band zwischen Sittlichkeit und Religion hat der rabbinische Geist dadurch geknüpft, dass er den erhabenen Begriff des Kiddush ha-Shem vollkommen ausgebildet hat, also der Heiligung des göttlichen Namens durch des Menschen Sittlichkeit." (Lazarus, Ethik des Judenthum p. 197, see also 198; Elbogen, Die Religionsanschauungen der Pharisäer, p. 71).

These views do not seem justified. For, in the first place, if these concepts were ethical principles, we would naturally expect to find more abundant instances of moral conduct, and a far greater variety of human relations classed under these categories. Understanding by ethical conduct duties of man to man, we find that, with few exceptions, the acts which are enumerated under Kiddush Hashem, and all the laws for which martyrdom,—the highest form of Kiddush Hashem—is suffered, are not at all ethical; the martyr dies for purely religious duties, the study of the Thora, the avoidance of idolatry, circumcision, the dietary laws, the eating of unleavened bread on passover,—all obligations which the Jew owes to his faith.

The acts subsumed under Hillul Hashem are, indeed, for the most part, such as are concerned with human relations. But presented as they are, from the standpoint of Hillul Hashem, they are not *per se* ethical, i. e. they are not demanded by the inner duty which every man owes to his neighbor, but by the religious duty that every Jew owes to his faith, to preserve reverence and respect for it by his deeds. That the conduct demanded under the principle of Hillul Hashem is, from a *human* standpoint, non-moral, is evident from the fact that the *public* character (פרהכ׳א) of the deeds is constantly emphasized, and it is even denied by commentaries[1] that there can be a secret profanation of the Holy Name. Purely moral conduct has, however, no relation to the publicity or secrecy under which it occurs, the ethical imperative being ever present and operative. Furthermore, from the standpoint of Hillul Hashem and Kiddush Hashem, conduct is approved

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F. Perles calls Kiddush Hashem the "centralen Begriff des jüdischen Sittenlehre" (Bousset, Religion des Judenthums in neutestamentlichen Zeitalter kritisch untersucht von Felix Perles, p. 64). "In engem Zusammenhang mit diesem Gedanken entstand nun die . . . . Anschauung dass man durch ein sittliches Leben den Namen Gottes heilige, dass heisst ihn Ehre mache und damit zur seiner Anerkennung unter den Menschen beiträge" (ib. p. 68).

[1] See commentaries to Aboth IV, 4; also to V, 9.

or condemned only when it affects Judaism or the Jewish community. When this element is absent these principles are not generally brought into play. Thus it is forbidden to use deceit in awarding a favorable decision to a Jew in a law-suit with a non-Jew, on account of the sanctification of the Holy Name, i. e. on account of the discredit to Judaism that would result from such a procedure. Similarly it is forbidden to profit by a mistake of a non-Jew, where it leads to the profanation of the Holy Name.[1] Where, however, this feature is absent, such conduct is not at all viewed from the standpoint of Hillul Hashem.[2] In view of the fact that many of the acts, classed under both Kiddush Hashem and Hillul Hashem, do not at all come within the scope of ethics, that both principles concern themselves with only a small number of acts, view them, not from the ethical standpoint, as duties of man to man, but from the point of view of the obligation to his faith, and emphasize, therefore, the public character of such deeds, we may justly conclude that Kiddush Hashem and Hillul Hashem are not ethical principles either in nature or content.

If, however, we view them as religious principles whose purpose is to preserve Judaism, to glorify it and maintain respect for it and the Jewish community, we are not confronted with the difficulties that met us when we sought to regard them as moral principles. Inasmuch as Judaism did not always draw a sharp distinction between religion and ethics, it is natural that both religious and ethical duties should appear under these categories. Since, however, these principles sought to preserve and defend Judaism, it is reasonable that stress should be laid on the religious, rather than on the moral, duties. The purely moral obligations, being universal in nature, did not give to Judaism its distinctive character, and, therefore, did not present the points assailed by persecution; the religion was attacked, consequently

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[1] B. Kamma 113b.

[2] See stories of Shemuel and Rab Cahana (ibid.). Cf. also H. Gezela va-Abeda ch. XI, 3.

it was for the religion and religious observances, and not for moral duties, that the martyr was called upon to die. From the same standpoint,—the defense of Judaism,—we can also appreciate the value placed on public acts both in Kiddush Hashem and Hillul Hashem.[1] A public act, if noble, served as an example within the community and won the respect of the world; if base, or lacking in due reverence for Judaism or its practices, was detrimental to the faith, both among its followers and in the opinion of the non-Jew. In a time when Jew and Judaism were viewed with suspicion and hostility, we can readily see why so much importance is attributed to the avoidance of conduct that discredits Judaism, not only from its moral aspect, but on account of its consequences to the Jewish community. When the existence of Judaism was endangered it is natural that the defense of it should have been urged as a motive of conduct.

Kiddush Hashem and Hillul Hashem are, therefore, religious principles in nature and motive, in content and function. They base themselves on the deep sense of obligation to God, on an intense love for the Deity; they express themselves in an unfaltering adherence to His Law, the utmost concern for its glory, and, above all, in the martyr's death for his faith. They demand an obedience to the customs and practices of Judaism under all circumstances and at any sacrifice; they stand for a noble, self-sacrificing religious patriotism.

In denying an essentially moral character to these concepts, I do not mean to assert that they did not exert a strong moralizing influence. On the contrary, Kiddush Hashem and Hillul Hashem furnished an additional stimulus to uprightness. Where the ordinary moral influences could not enforce proper conduct, these principles added the weight of responsibility to Judaism and the

[1] From this standpoint, too, we should consider what has been regarded as a missionary element in these concepts (see in note 5 to p. 209, the views of L. Lazarus and Perles); i. e. the aim is not so much to teach morality to the world, as to preserve the respect of the world for the morality of Judaism.

community. The individual became conscious of the importance of his acts and their consequences, not only for himself, but for all Israel; he was obligated to show regard, not only for his own honor, but also for the honor of his religion and his race. As representative of these his conduct assumes an added seriousness. If, therefore, acts, dictated by Kiddush Hashem and Hillul Hashem, viewed from a purely theoretic standpoint are, as we have seen, not always ethical in themselves, these principles, nevertheless, were efficient motives for a practical morality.

As principles making for the preservation of Judaism, the influence of Kiddush Hashem and Hillul Hashem was powerful; witness the long roll of martyrs whose names are inscribed in the numerous martyrologies. Indeed, the persistence of Judaism through the Crusades and the Middle Ages, is a proof of that loyalty and devotion to the God of Israel and his Thora, which is demanded by Kiddush Hashem and Hillul Hashem. The profanation of the Holy Name entered into the common speech of the Jew, being to this day used to designate any deed which brings anything of Judaism into disrepute before the Jews, or dishonors the Jew or his religion before the world. Kiddush Hashem was understood, it seems, as synonymous with martyrdom, and in the persecutions by both Christian and Moslem fanatics many laid down their lives for their religion. The faithful accepted martyrdom without a murmur,[1] and those who died for Judaism's sake were held in the greatest reverence. They were termed חסידים (the pious), חסידי עליון (the pious of the Most High)[2] and קדושים (saints),[3] their names were recorded by congre-

[1] Wären zur Zeit der Verfolgung die Völker über dich hergefallen, dich deinem Glauben abtrünnig zu machen, du hättest, wie Viele, dein Leben hingegeben."—Extract from R. Eleazar b. Yehuda of Worms. Zunz, Zur Gesch. und Lit., I, p. 135.

[2] Martyrology of Ephraim bar Jacob in appendix to Wiener, Emek Habacha, pp. 4, 6.

[3] Hebr. Berichte über die Juden während der Kreuzzüge p. 6; also Zunz, op. cit. pp. 334 and 335.

gations, to their memory liturgical pieces were composed and given a place in the ritual,[1] and fasts[2] were instituted as a memorial to those who made the supreme sacrifice. What were the feelings of the medieval martyr, what his faith, his hope and consolation, we may perhaps learn from the words put in the mouth of the martyrs of Mainz, with which I conclude this paper. "It is not for us to meditate upon the ways of the Holy One,—blessed be He, blessed be His Name,—who gave us the Thora, and commanded that we be put to death and be slain for the unity of His Holy Name. Happy are we, if we do His will. Happy he who has been slain and slaughtered and died for the unity of His name. He is prepared for the future world, and will sit in the abode of the righteous with R. Akiba and his companions,—the pillars of the world,—who gave up their lives for the sake of His name. And we will exchange this world of darkness for a world of light, this world of distress for a world of joy, a world that vanishes for a world that exists unto all eternity."[3]

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1 For example אב הרחמים in the Sabbath service. Cf. Zunz, die Synagogale Poesie des Mittelalters, ch. Leiden, pp. 9 ff., where in the notes reference is made to the various liturgical pieces composed in memory of martyrs and martyrdoms. Also M. Wiener, Emek Habacha (in the notes).

2 Zunz, die Ritus des Synagogalen Gottesdienstes p. 126, and list of fast days p. 127 ff.

3 Bericht des Salomo bar Simeon (in Hebr. Ber. über die Judenverfolgungen während der Kreuzzüge) p. 7.

ELIJAH GAON OF WILNA; HIS IMPORTANCE.*

BY MENDEL SILBER.

WE shall be in a position to best understand and appreciate the Gaon's work if we realize that he lived in an age in which rationalism, pietism, and pilpulistic scholarship flourished side by side, each of these tendencies struggling for mastery. He gave to all these a new turn. Though very pious, he did not carry his piety to the point of fanaticism; his remarkable scholarship did not express itself in the mental gymnastics of the pilpulists; and his rationalism did not run mad. He combined these three into the enlightened study of theological and secular sciences, and the true observance of the "mizvoth." He perceived clearly, as did Mendelssohn, the necessity of a sweeping reform in Jewish studies. Each, however, was actuated by a different motive, that of Elijah being Jewish, that of Mendelssohn non-Jewish. Elijah desired to restore the true and beneficial study of the Talmud and the Bible, and also to spread the knowledge of Hebrew and of Jewish teachings by the aid of other sciences; whereas Mendelssohn merely aimed to bring about an appreciation of modern culture, and employed the Hebrew as a means to this end. The one wished to have works of other languages translated into Hebrew so as to make them "Jewish"; the other translated Hebrew works into German so as to give them a German tinge.[1]

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*This article forms the third chapter of Mr. Silber's forthcoming work, "Elijah Gaon of Wilna."—Ed.

[1] Cf. E. Schulman, in "Mimkor Yisroel" (p. 34), Wien, 1876.

The first thing, then, which Elijah did was to check mischievous pilpulism. During the Middle Ages the Talmud was studied not as a science but as a religion. The study itself was a meritorious, God-pleasing deed. It mattered little whether it led to practical results or not; the one who busied himself with the study of the Talmud was a righteous man and entitled to the support of the community. All of its teachings were beyond doubt true; the conclusions of its debates were fixed verities. To suggest that the knowledge of the Tannaim and Amoraim was deficient in certain respects was a grevious sin. If inconsistencies, errors, and incongruities were found in the Talmud, they were to be explained away by dialectical methods, wherever this was possible; and where it was not, the teachings of the Talmud were still accepted as true, in the firm conviction that any lack of clearness was due entirely to the ignorance of the student. The Talmudist, therefore, not wishing to confess himself ignorant, would search deeply into every statement before putting it aside as inexplicable.[2] Thus pilpulism developed, and dialecticism[1] became so prevalent, that every difficulty in the Talmud could in some way be bridged over. I. B. Levinson relates that the scholars of Jacob Pollack once tore out several pages of the tractate he was reading to them, and that to their great surprise their teacher read on without observing that any pages were missing, all the while combining, in a most subtle way, subjects which were not in any way connected. Nor was this objectionable, superficial method restricted to the study of the Talmud alone. Every subject was studied not for the sake of knowledge, but in order to bring out some "pshetel." The reader did not care to know what A. or B. said upon any particular topic, but strove to discover some real or apparent contradiction in their statements, which he could then proceed to reconcile. For to the authors of this period, as Schechter says, the preceding Jewish literature did not mean a fountain of living waters, supplying men with truth and religious inspiration, but

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[2] Cf. H. Gersony, in "The Independent," Sept. 19, 1895.

rather a kind of armory providing them with juristic cases over which to fight, and to out-do each other in sophistry and subtlety.

Elijah was the first to check this mischief. He introduced the most searching critical methods in the study of the Talmud, and thus elevated it to a science. His corrections and emendations were neither mere guess-work nor artificial structures, but such as were justified and often even necessitated by a comparison of texts and original sources. He required his disciples to study the Talmud in such a way as to be able to analyse each tractate, to know in each discussion who were the Tannaim and Amoraim mentioned therein, and what each of these rabbis stood for.

Common sense was with him the conditio sine qua non in all studies.[3] He was the first to recognize—Geiger also pointed it out after him—that just as there were two modes of explaining the Bible, derash and peshat, so are there two corresponding methods in the explanation of the Mishnah. In order, therefore, to understand the Mishnah properly, we must not accept the comments of the Amoraim upon it, but we must interpret it literally and independently of the "Gemara."[4] But Elijah would not have any one study the Talmud unless he had first carefully studied the Bible. With him, in fact, the careful and grammatical study of the Bible always took the first place among the studies. The other scholars of that time neglected the Bible altogether.[5] They religiously studied the Talmud, Code, and the Commentaries, but all they knew of the Bible they obtained indirectly through the Talmud. So generally was this the case, that it has been shown that out of a hundred scholars scarcely one knew the date of Aaron's death, which is expressly given in the Bible,[6] while everyone of them knew that Moses died on the seventh day of Adar,

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[3] Cf. the Gaon's Commentary to Proverbs, XI:5.

[4] Bernfeld, "Toldoth Hareformation Hadosith" (p. 115, Cracow, 1900).

[5] Cf. Yore Deah, 245:76.

[6] Numbers XXXIII:38.

which is merely a guess of the Talmud.[7] Such a method the Gaon opposed. Raphael Hamburger, when asked wherein lay the greatness of the Gaon, pointed to the Bible, saying that the knowledge of that book and the revival of Jewish interest in it is to a large extent due to him. Instead of familiarizing himself with the Bible through the numerous quotations from it in the Talmud, he, unlike the other Talmudists of the time, attained to the knowledge of it by reading the Bible itself. In his later days, we are informed by David Lurie,[8] he studied nothing but the Pentateuch, inserting, as he read, the various Talmudical interpretations and later rabbinical views; a thing which was possible for him to do, as he was thoroughly familiar both with the Bible and the whole rabbinical literature.[9]

Having revived interest in the Bible, he also restored the long-neglected study of Hebrew grammar,[10] on which subject he wrote a book. He likewise created an interest in the Tosephto, the Mechilto, Siphri, and Siphro, and also in the Palestinian Talmud, which he corrected and clarified. In all of his commentaries, and he wrote one on almost every book of the Bible, he lays great stress on the true and grammatical understanding of the text. He submitted all sacred literature to the same philological method of study which is applied to secular literature. With a single reference to a parallel passage, or with a textual emendation, he very often tears down the air-castles of his predecessors. His thorough acquaintance with the various branches of Jewish literature made it possible for him to explain a great many obscure passages in the Bible and Talmud. He sought to elucidate obscure passages in the Mishnah by citing parallel passages from the Tosephta.

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[7] Kiddushin 38b.

[8] Ma'aloth Hasulom 29

[9] In the Bible he could, according to Lurie, enumerate all the "vavs" and "yods" of each chapter

[10] Neglected, no doubt, partly in opposition to the over-emphasis of this subject by the Karaites.

The difficult passages in the Babylonian Talmud he tried to explain by reference to the corresponding older and simpler passages in the Palestinian Talmud.

The Gaon's attitude to Kabbalah is hard to define. Graetz finds fault with him because he believed in such Kabbalistic works as the Zohar, etc. But if we consider the conditions of the time we shall be apt to criticise him less severely for his leanings towards Kabbalah. This much at any rate is certain, that though he did not reject Kabbalah, and even wrote a commentary to the Zohar, he was not influenced by it as were his contemporaries. He did, indeed, accept the good side of its teachings, namely, to shun worldly and sensuous pleasures; but aside from this, the Talmud alone was his guide.[11] That he wrote a commentary to the Zohar does not argue anything in regard to his attitude towards its teachings, for he did not intend his writings to be published. His works were originally merely notes to his readings. These "jottings" were later found so valuable and complete as to warrant their publication in a more permanent form. But we may not conclude from this that he accepted the teachings of the books upon which he commented, any more than we would conclude in the case of a modern Jewish scholar that he accepted Christianity because he had made some glosses in a New Testament text. Besides this, we have other proof, if the testimony of an opponent may be relied upon, that he did not have any strong leanings towards Kabbalah. A letter[12] of one of the Chassidic saints, Shneur Solomon, contains the following reference to the Gaon:

הנה עיקר לא נזכר אלא בקבלת האר׳ ז״ל לבדה ולא במקובלים שלפנינו גם לא בזוהר הקדוש בפירוש וידוע לי בבירור נמור שהגאון הנ׳ל אינו מאמין בקבלת האר׳ ז״ל בכללה שהיא כלה מפי אליהו ז״ל, רק מעט מזער מפי אליהו ז״ל, והישאר מחכמתו הגדולה ואינו מחוב בה להאמין, וגם הספרים נשתבשו

[11] Cf. Cahan, "Eben Ohpel," and "Hashachar," vol. V (1878), pp. 639-643.

[12] In a Chassidic Ms. now in the possession of Mr. Ephraim Deinard.

מאד (לדעת הגרא) ולאיש אשר אלה לו ואשר לו משפט הבכורה לו לבחור הטוב והישר בכל כתבי קודש הקדשים הארי ז״ל לומר שמועה זו נאה והיא מפי אליהו ז״ל וזו אינה מפי אליהו ז״ל מה נאמר ומה נדבר ומה נצטדק לפנינו.

But whatever may have been his attitude towards Kaballah, it was beyond question more favorable towards Haskalah. In Lithuania at least, he was the precursor of modern Haskalah and of biblical criticism; though this has been contested by such writers, for instance, as Mr. N. S. Libovitz, who wrote what he did,[13] not so much because he found any fault with the Gaon—a thing which, according to some enthusiastic admirers at least, would be impossible,[14] but because he wished to oppose Isaac Hirsch Weiss who called Elijah "אבי החכמה" The arguments brought forward in the "Igereth" are so puerile as hardly to require any refutation. As though it made any difference whether the Gaon intended by his method of criticism to pave the way for the labors of modern exegetes, or whether he merely desired to have a corrected text (which, by the way, should be the aim of every biblical critic). As though it mattered, in this connection, whether he desired his disciples to translate secular books into Hebrew in order to promote the study of the sciences, or because he hoped thereby to benefit the cause of Jewish learning. The fact remains, that, far from despising the sciences as did the other Talmudists of his time, he studied them and even wrote works on Geometry, Algebra and Mathematical Astronomy. Not only, he held, could the sciences not harm the cause of Judaism, but they could and must greatly benefit it. Hence he made a liberal education—"chose inouie en son temps et que seul sa popularité pouvait excuser"[15]—mandatory to the Jewish student. For, he said, where one fails to understand one thing in the secular sciences, he falls short of the true knowledge of a hundred things in the sacred law. As a result of this view, his disciples took up the study of the sciences with great zeal.

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[13] In Igereth Bikoreth, pp. 15, 16.

[14] Smolensky, in "Hashachar," vol. VI (1875), p. 98.

[15] Slouschz, La Renaissance de la Litterature Hebraique, pp. 72-73.

וכן היו חכמים ובקיאים בדקדוק ובהנדסה וירתר החכמות הנצרכות לתלמוד כל החבורא קדיש תלמידי מהר"א זצלה"ה.[16]

Having himself written on various topics of secular interest, he urged upon his disciples the necessity of translating works of secular science into Hebrew.

והנה בהיותי בק"ק ווילנא המעטירה אצל הרב המאור הגאון הגדול מ"ו מאור עיני הגולה החסיד המפורסם כמוה"ר אליה נר"ו בחודש טבת תקל"ח שמעתי מפי קדוש כי כפי מה שחסר לאדם ידיעות משארו החכמות לעומת זה יחסר לו מאה ידות בחכמת התורה כי התורה והחכמה נצמדים יחד. ואמר משל לאדם הנעצר יתבלבל שכלו עד כל אוכל תתאב. וצוה לי להעתיק מה שאפשר ללשוננו הקדושה מחכמות כדי להוציא בולעם מפיהם וישוטטו רבים ותרבה הדעת בין עמנו ישראל ותוסר גאון עוזם ונאות עריצים המון עמים ולשון לאומים אשר כשאון מים רבים ישאון לעומתינו איפה חכמתכם ונמצא שם שמים מתחלל.[17]

Elijah's attitude towards philosophy was a very favorable one. The famous note often referred to in connection with his biography, in which he is made to say that Maimonides was misled by הפילסופיא הארורה, is surely an interpolation by a later hand, as will be shown in a later chapter, when we come to treat of his works.[18] Not only did he make a thorough study of philosophy, but he often quotes the "More" approvingly.[19] Once the complaint was made to him that the "dayan" of Wilna, Judah Ashkenazi, recited the "More" daily before his disciples, and he was urged to prohibit this practice. But he exclaimed in indignation.[20] הרבינו משה יורה אני אביר ? מי יתן חלקי עמו !

And it is but natural that Elijah should have favored philosophy, for, as Schecter points out, he represented truth both in

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[16] Levinson, I. B., Te'udoth Beyisroel, p. 147, Warsaw 1879.

[17] Baruch of Sklov, Introduction to Euclid, Hague 1780, Cr. also the preface of Abraham Simchah of Amzislow to Shulman's "Milchamoth Hayehudim," Wilna, 1884.

[18] Chapter VII.

[19] Cf. Jawitz, Kenesseth Yisroel, 1886. Also Introduction to Peath Hashulchan, Saffed, 1836.

[20] Fuenn, Kiryah Ne'emanah, pp. 152 & 280.

his literary activity and in his life, which was one unceasing longing and effort after truth. Not only was he content, on the physical side, with a mere sustenance of life in this world, but he lived uprightly apart from any consideration of the hereafter. When asked for his views on the doctrine of reward in the next world he would say: [21] אליהו יכול לעבוד לאלהים גם בלי עולם הבא Only that, he would frequently say to his disciples, was of any value, which has been acquired by one's own hard labor. If an angel, he said, were sent to teach him the mysteries of the Law, he would not accept his services. We are told in the name of his disciple, R. Chaim of Volozhin,[22] that on a certain occasion the Gaon did not eat for three days because he was occupied in trying to unravel the mysteries of a very difficult passage, and it was only after he had found some clue to the meaning that he partook of food.

So advanced and liberal was he in his views, that, almost three quarters of a century before the practice of uncovering the head was introduced into the synagogue in Germany, he held that bareheadedness was no sin, even during prayer, but that custom did not sanction it. In view of the fact that his contemporaries regarded bareheadedness during prayer as almost equivalent to the violation of one of the Ten Commandments, only as great a man as the Gaon could permit himself to be so outspoken in his views. His saint-like life, his great fame, and his universally acknowledged piety, saved him from the charge of heresy.

But the Gaon disregarded not only the prejudices of his own time, but those of all times. He could not tolerate dishonesty and falsehood, no matter where found. Thus, for instance, in commenting on the decision of the Yore Deah that the superstitious custom of slaughtering a hen that crows like a cock may be kept up, but that this must not be the reason given for the slaughtering, he exclaims: דבריו קשים כחומין לשניים וכעשן לעינים לגנוב דעת המקום[23]

[21] Brainin, Mimizrach Umima'arob, vol. IV, 1899.

[22] Aliath Eliohu, p. 33.

[23] Cf. the commentary to Yore Deah, 179:8.

No wonder, then, that the people of Wilna revered such a man as a saint, and considered it as a happy event in one's life to have conversed with him, or to have been of any service to him. No wonder that all the scholars of his time recognized him as their master. It seems as if nature had bestowed all her gifts upon that one man. Besides possessing the other qualities referred to above, he was endowed with a remarkable memory which can scarcely find its equal. After having read a book once he was able to recite its contents from memory the rest of his life. His keen insight and quick and sure grasp were still more marvelous. The most complicated passages in Talmudic literature, over which other scholars had to pore for days before they could understand them, he was able to read at a glance. He was once shown one of the inexplicable Midrashim which reads as follows: אין מניחין תפילין אלא בשבת and without any hesitation he explained it to mean: " במקום שער, במקום תפוח ," (which are indeed the right places for the "tephillin"). When Eibeschuetz's Urim Vetummim appeared, one of the Gaon's disciples, who had a strong inclination towards pilpulism, found delight in studying it, and often praised the work to the Gaon. One day Elijah asked him to select what he thought the most subtle discourse in the book, and recite it. The disciple chose a very long and intricate discussion which he repeated to his teacher. When he had finished, Elijah said to him: "If we wished to engage in such worthless work, life would be much too short to accomplish anything, for in this same argument we could add"— and here the Gaon prolonged the discussion so much and in so skillful a manner that his hearer could scarcely follow.

R. Loeb, the author of שאגת אריה, once delivered a pilpulistic lecture which was very much admired by the scholars of Wilna. On the following day the Gaon delivered one in which he proved that leaven was permitted on Passover. After he had finished his hearers crowded around him, overwhelming him with questions as to whether the laws regarding חמץ ought to be abolished. He then opened the Bible and pointed to the ex-

press command[24] לא תאכל עליו חמץ , adding: "This is the truth of the matter, the other was fiction."

Herz Schulman, of Buechow once visited the Gaon. After he had introduced himself, the Gaon asked him, since he was a grammarian of great renown, whether he could take some Mishnaic passage and vocalize it. Schulman, not being able to do this, was asked to select a passage for the purpose of testing the Gaon in a similar way, and the Gaon, without hesitation, correctly vocalized the text thus chosen for him.[25]

His disciple, R. Chayim, once asked him why, in addition to the ordinary phylacteries, he did not don the "tephillin" of Rabbenu Tam in order to be on the safe side. "If this were necessary," said Elijah, "why not have sixty-four different kinds of 'tephillin' since there are that many different views in the Talmud as to the proper method of making them?"

In his commentary to the Schulchan Aruch he often shows a better knowledge of the sources of the various religious practices than does Joseph Caro himself; and in his notes and textual criticisms on the Tosephta and the Seder Olam he restores the correct texts more frequently than do those who were able to avail themselves of the MSS.

These are but a few illustrations of the phenomenal powers of the Gaon. Many more might be cited to show that in him were found, in rare combination, those qualities of mind and heart which constitute what we know as genius. And well for Lithuania that such a master came at a time when he was most needed!

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[24] Deut. XVI, 3.

[25] Ben Poroth, p. 67, Wilna, 1858.

ISAAC ERTER—HIS LIFE AND WORKS.

BY MEYER LOVITCH.

NEW Hebrew has not universally been regarded as a language worthy of study or even of much attention, but recently a step was taken that seems to show that gradually it will gain the recognition due it. The creation of a chair for New Hebrew in the University of Paris has been a source of satisfaction and encouragement both to the readers and writers of this language. The necessity of a distinct, literary language for the Jew may be questioned; but the fact remains that there is extant today an extensive literature in New Hebrew, which is being constantly augmented by works that cannot well be overlooked by those who are interested in the Jewish expression and conception of modern thought and life.

Among modern New Hebrew writers few have attained a greater degree of excellence than Isaac Erter, the prince of Hebrew satirists. He succeeds in showing most admirably to what uses the Hebrew language can be put. His book הצופה לבית ישראל, consisting of a number of essays, has become a standard by which to judge other works, and has most deservedly earned the right of being called a "classic."

In language Erter is a purist, his vocabulary is almost entirely Biblical, though for the sake of variety, and often for the lack of a better word, he permits himself the use of words that occur but once or seldom in the Bible. He is extremely fond of incorporating entire phrases taken verbatim from passages in the Bible, but so appropriately and skillfully are they selected, that they

never give one the feeling that they are something foreign, and that they are inserted merely for display and effect. A few examples may serve to illustrate this point.

ואם יכירו וידעו כל גויי הארץ את יהוה וכתתו חרבותם לאתים וחניתותיהם למזמרות ולא ישא גוי אל גוי חרב כי עולם חסד יבנה.

ומן המצר קראתי לו ואומר למה זה תשאל?——כי בטרם ידע הילד מאום ברע ובחור בטוב תספר לו מינקתו את ספורי מגלאותיה.

Another device of which he is fond is to begin with a well known Biblical phrase, but to end with an unexpected word, which is apt to produce a very good effect and serves to draw special attention to the thought. As example of this may be given—

דרכיך דרכי "מות"

ויסכרו ארובות "גרוני"——ורוח אלהים (זו) המרחפת על פני "הערה"

He also shows some skill in playing upon words, which the following may serve to illustrate—

שותי יין "שרף" למען ברוא מלאך "ושרף" ולכבוד שם אלהים "חיים", איש אל רעהו יקראו "לחיים"!

There is an easy, graceful flow of language that suggests some of the best narrative portions of the Bible. So fluent is his diction that one would suppose that the author was writing in the language which he spoke, and not in a language used almost entirely for literary purposes alone. But even more interesting than his style is the nature and purpose of his works, which throughout are most keenly satirical. To better understand and appreciate his writings, we must have before us a few facts of his life.

At a time when Europe was aroused by, and deeply interested in, the drama that was being enacted on the political stage of France, Isaac Erter was born (1792) in the small town of Konieshck, in the province of Galicia. In this nest of the Chasidim he grew up, and was given the education that a Polish lad was accustomed to receive. At thirteen he was well versed in the intricacies of אסור and היתר the "forbidden" and "permissible." This being the acquirement that marked the mature man, Isaac,—

as he tells us in his חסידות וחכמה —found himself at the age of thirteen a married man. His wife dying shortly after the marriage, another helpmate was selected for him, who proved a real source of happiness and blessing to him during his whole lifetime.

But what was he to do? On all sides were Chasidic influences that tended to destroy all desire for a search after knowledge and which lured him on by the promise of wealth and honor. His satire, חסידות וחכמה, written much later, is nevertheless an excellent reflection of what his state of mind was at this time. "Chasidism" and "Wisdom" both strive to win him over. "Chasidism" holds up before him the wealth he will be able to extort from the deluded people. She tempts him by the reputation and glory he can obtain if he only agrees to give up the pursuit of true knowledge and surrender himself up to the delusions and superstitions of the Cabbala, and to the vice and debauchery of the Chasidim, the "holy ones" of Israel. "Wisdom" then admonishes him not to be tempted by these glittering promises of "Chasidism," she can give him truer pleasures. She will open up unto him the store house of all the sciences, if he will only declare himself as her true votary. It does not take him long to make up his mind, he chooses "Wisdom" as his mistress. This is the key to the understanding of Erter's whole life, a continual struggle against Chasidism and its abuses, and a constant effort to disseminate true knowledge, and with it an attempt to alleviate the sufferings of his people.

Fortunately for Erter, a man well versed in the Bible, and acquainted with some of the languages and sciences of the day, happened to come to his native town. This man, out of pity for poor Erter, and also out of admiration for his eagerness and ability to learn, undertook to instruct him free of charge. A new world was opened up to the Polish lad (for a lad he was though married); life began to have new interests. He proved to be an apt pupil and soon undertook to give instruction as a means of support. He removed for that purpose to Lemberg, where, with several other enlightened men, he undertook to spread a knowledge of the Bible and of secular matters. His object was to

liberate his brethren from the bonds of ignorance and delusion in which the Chasidic leaders held them fast. Now that there was hope and probability of the Jews obtaining civil rights, he wished to enlighten them and prepare them by teaching them the means whereby they could become self-supporting and respectable men. But the wary Chasidim very soon scented danger for them in such a movement, and in their pious zeal they hurled the ban (חרם) against Erter and his companions, in the name of the excellent and worthy Rabbi Jacob Aaronstein. This edict fell especially heavy on Erter. Most of his pupils left him for fear of excommunication. So his only means of support was taken from under him. The indignation and bitterness which was caused by this act of the Chasidic leaders is expressed in his satires מאזני משקל and תשליך.

Both of them are most scathing denunciations of the Chasidim and their practices. In the former he denounces the books of the Chasidic authors. These are placed in one balance of the scale, while the writings of idolatrous priests are placed in the other. He can hardly believe what his eyes behold. What! Can it be possible that the writings of the master Cabbalists, the holy men of Israel, they who consume strong drink in order to create angels, who honor God by leaping and dancing upon their chairs, do the writings of such men balance in foolishness and vulgarity the works of idolators, who in the days of their calamity and joy dance upon the streets like satyrs, who drink and reel until they become an object of terror to those who behold them! And the author of such books hurled their curses against him for teaching the Bible, and denounced him as an enemy of the Jewish religion. Is it any wonder that his righteous indignation was stirred against these hypocrites, the enslavers of his brethren?

The תשליך, which is one of the best and most popular of his satires, is far more keen and unmerciful in its attack. As a satire it is an admirable piece of work. Those against whom it is directed must have turned white with rage when they read it. And yet it never becomes abusive nor vituperative, and probably

just for that reason is it so effective. The author, happening to pass along a river bank on the first day of the seventh month of the Jewish calendar, finds, to his great surprise, Satan and bands of evil angels wandering along either bank. Amazed, but not terrified,—for like a good Jew he fears the God of the heavens alone—he approaches Samoel the Satan and asks him what he is doing there. Satan, with a chuckle at his naivete, tells him that he has come to spread a net to gather in the sins which the people will soon throw into the river. In indignation he demands of Satan why he selected Poland of all lands in which to cast his net; why did he not betake himself to the streams of France or Germany. There is where the Jews cut their "peos" (פאות), there they clip and trim their beards, and dress in the fashion of the Gentiles among whom they dwell. But in Poland, חס ושלום (God forbid), no such heathenish customs were practised. Here they wear the Jewish garb, their beards are unkempt, and the "peos" are cultivated with the utmost religious scrupulosity. Surely no more could be asked of them. But Satan tells him that under their Jewish garments they hide a multitude of sins. In silence and bewilderment he stands musing on the bank of the river. Can it be possible that Poland, the congregation of the holy, which consists altogether of Chasidim, whose rabbis can perform miracles even as Elisha and Elijah, whose leaders are the shining lights of the exile, can it be credible that such a land is steeped in sin and degradation? While he was still communing with himself, there came a host of Chasidim to the edge of the water, among whom were many Rabbis, to unburden themselves of their heavy load of transgressions. Among the sins issuing forth from beneath the garments of the Rabbis he sees disregard of family, hatred towards the learned, contempt for all men, strife, bans and hearts harder than flint. The stream of sins is well-nigh endless. They who are considered as the giants of the land, as the upright and religious, are overloaded with transgressions. We must allow for some exaggeration due to the utter contempt and hatred that the author had for the Chasidism, but we may be safe in considering it, on

the whole, as a just and accurate account of the evils that existed in Erter's day, conditions that have survived to a great extent to our own time.

Of course Erter could not be expected to remain very long in Lemberg where the Chasidim baffled him in his efforts at every turn. He removed to Brody, then one of the largest, richest and most enlightened communities in Galicia. Here he found the surroundings more congenial to his nature. He was well received in the community and the sons of the most prominent families became his pupils. In 1823 a school was established which remained in a flourishing condition as long as Erter was at its head. But Erter had already experienced what the fanaticism of the Chasidim could do. He had learned, to his sorrow, how their denunciation could suddenly deprive him of all means of support. He wished to find some way by which he could honorably secure the future maintenance of himself and family. He finally decided upon the medical profession, and, in his thirty-third year, he set out for Pest where he studied five years. Here again he proved himself an apt pupil. On his return, at the earnest solicitation of his friend Rabbi Abraham Goldberg, he removed to Rava where he soon became the head of his profession. His medical knowledge he also turned to the benefit of his people. When the cholera broke out he went from town to town, visiting the stricken, and doing all that lay within his power to alleviate the suffering of rich and poor alike. When the ravages of the plague ceased, he returned again to Brody, where he became a real source of blessing to the poor of the city. But even in his capacity of physician did his old enemies attack and denounce him. These so-called Rabbi-physicians, whose knowledge of the science of medicine was extremely meager, and whose cures consisted of amulets with meaningless inscriptions, whose reputation for wisdom increased sevenfold with every additional horse they acquired, these quack physicians were afraid that part of their income would be lost to them if Erter continued to treat the poor gratuitously. With stinging words he answered their attack, and in his turn ridiculed and

denounced their chicanery. A large part of his satire entitled גלגול נפיש the "Trans-Migration of a Soul," or the "Metempsychosis," is taken up in satirizing these self-styled physicians.

In the course of its revelations the spirit imparts to him the things he must do if he would gain success and acquire a reputation as a great physician among the Polish Jews. Some of the regulations, which he calls פרקי זהב are the following: Powder your hair white, acquire a portly body, for then those that see you will say, "his great investigations have turned his hair white and his knowledge is in his bowels." Be sure to have a human skull upon your table, and some tissues of the brain preserved in a bottle of alcohol, placed upon your window-sill, so that those who gaze upon these things may marvel at your wisdom. Purchase plenty of books have them finely bound, then put them in a book-case and never trouble yourself about reading them. Only be sure that they may be seen by those who visit you, and they will think that your learning is unbounded. Pawn everything in order to get a copule of horses and a carriage, for with every additional horse your wisdom will increase seven-fold in the eyes of the people. Manage to have your door beset with a multitude of poor people, so that passers-by may say, "what a great and wonderful physician that man must be; see how they flock to him from every quarter! Of course you must not waste your precious time in treating them. Strive to lower the reputation of your professional brother, ruin his practice if you can for does he not rob you of your very bread? If another physician is called to consult with you, and the patient survives and is restored to health, then take the credit for yourself, but if he should die, lay the blame on the other physician.

But the physicians are not the only ones who are here satirized. Other classes come in for a goodly share of his keen and biting wit. In some respects the general plan and conception of the גלגול נפיש is the most ingenious of all his satires. In all there are seventeen transformations, nearly every one standing for a class which he wishes to satirize. He also shows much artistic skill in the sequence of the metamorphoses. Thus the croaking frog is

transformed into a Chazan, who loses his voice and is changed into a fish. From a ravenous fish he is turned into a merciless tax collector. Upon this class Erter unsparingly vent his wrath, and paints a most vivid picture of the wretchedness caused by those individuals, who are usually Jews. The fox is transformed into a Chasidic Rabbi. Here again he rises to a great pitch of indignation as he lays bare the trickeries and abuses which the Chasidic Rabbi practices upon the credulous community. As an example of their trickery he relates the following story. A Rabbi was once traveling with a retinue of Chasidim. As they approached a town one of his men ran ahead to a house and bade the master prepare a sumptuous repast and lodging room for the Rabbi and his followers. The man granted them lodging but refused to prepare any such costly meal. The Rabbi was exceedingly wroth, and immediately planned revenge. He noticed a small child in the house, and when nobody was near quietly approaching it he stuck a fine hair in its throat. He had barely reached his room and announced that God would speedily avenge the insult his dignity had suffered, when he heard the cries of the child. All attempts on the part of the parents to quiet it prove futile. As a last resort they approach the Rabbi and beg him to save it from the evil spirit that had entered into it. At first he refuses, as he is hurt at the welcome they gave him. The father pleads, asks forgiveness, promises him all his wealth, if he will only save the child, their only one. The Rabbi finally relents, and after going through a number of mysterious performances, removes the hair from the throat of the child. Instantly the child ceases its cries, and the fame of the Rabbi is spread throughout the land. People from far and near come to look upon the wonderful man who fought with the angel of death and conquered. Presents are humbly laid at his feet, and like a mighty potentate he graciously accepts them. But this wonderful Rabbi is in the course of the transformation turned into an ass, and the ass in turn is changed into a physician. The article is certainly a masterpiece of satirical composition.

Erter did lose many of his patients, not indeed so much

through the attacks of the Rabbi-physicians, as through his forced absence from Brody. He took up his residence for some time at Carlsbad, whither he had brought his eldest daughter in the hope that she might recover her health. After her death he returned to Brody and established a periodical which he called החלוץ "the Armed one." His object hopes and aspirations are well set out in his article תולדות החלוץ His main purpose was to keep alive and develop the Hebrew language, and to fight against the ignorance, superstitions and foolish customs to which the Jews of Poland were bound. He also clearly sets out the disadvantages under which the Hebrew writers labor. Their works have only a limited circulation, and their only recompense often is a copy of their book from the publisher. Erter died before his enterprise was well launched on its way, in the year 1851.

Besides the work mentioned Erter wrote a satire entitled תלונות סני וסנסני וסמנגלוף, also directed against the Chasidim. This one is especially directed against the angels and evil spirits that the Chasidim have invented. He advises the Israelites neither to fear them nor put their trust in them. He is also the author of a number of poems, which are of little importance or interest in comparison with his satires.

Isaac Erter had the spirit of a true reformer. The task he set before him was Herculean. The hold of the Chasidim on the people were too strong to be broken within a life-time. But Erter made great efforts to undermine the strength of Chasidism. He knew as well as anybody could know, wherein lay the cause of the people's ignorance, wretchedness and poverty. He attacked the evil at its very root. It was not enough to reveal the hypocrisy, cupidity and chicanery of those who fed upon the deluded rabble. This rabble must be instructed, be made to realize its degradation, it must be taught means wherewith to earn its daily sustenance. To this end he urged the formation of agricultural societies, whose purpose should be to interest Jews in the cultivation of the soil, an occupation they have been brought up to despise. That he did not succeed to any great extent is only too true, the terrible conditions

exist today. Perhaps the reason is that his writings are inaccessible just to those who need them most. But though his writings fell short of their desired aim, yet as literature they have held and will continue to hold a foremost place among New Hebrew productions. And were the language more extensively read, he would meet with much of the appreciation due unto him. In the style and general plan of his satires he may be compared to Lucian, the prince of Greek satirists; in the scathing denunciation of existing evils; in the revelation of hypocrisy, cupidity, and oppression; in a word, in moral earnestness, the famous Roman satirist, Juvenal, would have to "look to his honors," when compared with Erter.

JOSEPH PERL'S MEGALLEH TEMIRIN.

ONE of the countries that suffered from the demoralization caused by Chasidism was Galicia. An impenetrable gloom enveloped it. Ignorance and superstition prevailed. The Chasidim indulged in the foulest immorality and evinced the most abject degradation. Their life of ecstasy and jollity was very attractive, and ad captandum vulgus. Soon, they became all-powerful, and so vast was their influence that they drew within their meshes such a man as Joseph Perl. When, however, the bright rays of the Mendelssohnian enlightenment pierced its gloom, a desire for knowledge arose which stimulated some to attempt to check the frantic passion of this cult. With unusual strength of will Perl cast off the coil which Chasidism had wound about him, and when he had devoted himself exclusively to scientific study and had become an out and out Maskil, he took drastic measures to prevent the spread of this sect. His efforts were crowned with success when in 1819 he published his brilliant satire. "Megalleh Temirin," written intentionally in a barbarous jargon, and in the form of the "Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum," of Rubianus and Hutten.

It is well known that the "Epistolæ" helped in no small degree to bring on the reformation. They were occasioned by the controversy of Reuchlin with the baptized Jew, Pfefferkorn. "They were directed against the scholastics and monks, and lashed with merciless severity their doctrines, writings, morals, modes of speech, manner of life, follies and extravagances." The writers of these letters, who were supposed to be clergymen, showed by their ignorance and fanaticism the real baseness prevailing among them. Now, the Megalleh Temirin has the same object in view,

and carries it into effect with unerring precision. It is a presentation of an interchange of letters between the friends of various Zaddikim, the paramount aim of each being to prove that his Zaddik is the most powerful. It is witty, and the wit is caustic and sparkling. One can not help laughing at the buffooneries of the Chasidim; at their extreme foolishness and narrow-mindedness on the one hand; on the other hand, you are astounded at the depravity of people among whom thievery and crime obtain,—all under the guise of earnestness. Theirs is a life of unadulterated laziness and stagnation, and it is only when they have done a deed, the result of which must needs be kept secret, that they *act;* act with feverish hilarity; then eagerness gains the upper hand of cool thoughtfulness, and blindness of passion leads to their discovery.

The humor in the "Epistolæ" is truly very biting. For years and years men laughed when they read the manifold accusations which were set forth by their incomparably violent derision. As an example of this it is only necessary to quote the following passage: "When I come back to Germany I shall go to my pastorate and enjoy life. I have there many geese, chickens and ducks, and I can keep five or six cows which will give me milk, so that I can make cheese and butter. I will also keep two or three pigs and fatten them, so I shall have plenty of pork. In the winter, I shall sit in my room and study, so that I may preach to the peasants out of the Sermones parati or the Discipuli. I shall live for myself, read my prayers and say mass and have no care for those worldly affairs which bring destruction to the soul."[1] In the same mock-serious manner Megalleh Temirin attacks the flagrant follies of the Chasidim, and one is the more amazed at these because of the utter innocence in which they are divulged.

The very pious and righteous Obadiah ben Pesachiah (Perl relates in his preface), while on a journey from Miedzyboze to Zwanice,

[1] See "Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum," letter entitled "Johannes Kalb to Master Ortuin Gratuis."

accidentally lost his way. It was an extremely gloomy and dark night, and as he descended from his wagon to ascertain where he had chanced to stop, it disappeared, so that he knew not what had become of it. In this state of dread uncertainty he wondered about for some time. Great was his despair; immense was the helplessness which gnawed at his heart, when behold! wonder of wonders! rays of light began to penetrate the thick clouds in the distant sky, and then, suddenly, the moon shone brightly upon him. He found himself in a deep valley, barren and deserted, encompassed by mountains of gigantic height. Faint and weary he reclined his head on a large stone to obtain through sleep the rest of which he was sorely in need. Soon, however, he was awakened by a venerable old man, who bade him fear nothing, that he had been destined to deeds of great moment. "I am the watchman," said the old man, "whom Besht placed to guard the stone into which he had put the cryptic writings of Rabbi Adam. Here he commanded me to remain until on a certain very dark night, the moon would suddenly shine forth, bringing to my view a man who had wandered astray into this valley, and who had reposed his head upon this very stone. You are the man, and it rejoices me greatly that you have come, for I must give you one of the parchments contained herein." Whereupon he struck the stone, which opened. Taking therefrom a parchment, he gave it to Obadiah, and, with a few words to the effect that this parchment had the virtue of making him who carried it in his *right* pocket invisible; that its possessor could be transported to whatever place he desired, provided it was carried next to the "fringes;" and that he was destined to reveal the fundaments underlying Besht's teachings, also the life and deeds of the Chasidim of his generation, —the old man and the stone vanished. Knowing that this valley was infested by dangerous criminals, Obadiah by means of the parchment easily affected a return to his native city, and elated at the overwhelmingly high task which had been assigned to him, he betook himself to bring about its accomplishment. Shielded from the sight of all by the parchment, he visited the homes of

the Zaddikim, paid heed to their manners and customs, became interested in their language and private life, obtained some of their correspondence, and thus after years of faithful devotion to his work, and of earnest application to his endeavor of writing down the truth as it really was, Obadiah ben Pesachiah published his famous book, which he properly named "The Revealer of Secrets," or "Megalleh Temirin."

The following character descriptions gleaned from Perl's book will further tend to point out its truth and humor. The Zaddik, who is usually pusillanimous, putid, yet withal alert, is the sublime master of the community of wickedness in which he lives. His subjects live for him, commit crime for him, while his occupation is—to get money. The more wealth he accumulates the nearer does he approach the throne of God. If he strikes down a man for refusing to believe in the geneology of Besht's pipe[2] as efficacious in bringing about the cure of a dangerous disease, he proclaims his triumph to his followers, and doubts not in the least but that the Messiah is anxiously longing for the time when he can embrace this remarkable Zaddik, and give him with his own hand a choice tit-bit of the mammoth Leviathan's soft white flesh. The Zaddik is omnipresent and omniscient. When he wishes to be left alone in order to think over some plan or other, he usually reaches out for his pipe. But since his followers are in momentary dread lest he exert himself, become fatigued, and thus overthrow the principle of "conservation of energy," there arises bitter rivalry for the inestimable honor of giving it to him. This is supplemented by a fierce rush for the tobacco, the contest finally ending with a deadly struggle for the gracious privilege of lighting it. "Our generation is very nigh to the advent of the Messiah and the entire world sees with dismay the miracles which our Zaddikim are continually performing." This power they have by virtue of being the successors of Besht. Besht was greater than Elijah. He had only to pronounce a word or two and a dead person became alive; while Elijah was not able to restore life until he had gone through

[2] See Letter 71.

the tedious process of stretching himself three times over the child and of praying to God. Elijah was compelled to *entreat* the Almighty that a flame should consume the wood; while Besht merely touched a tree with one finger and it was entirely burned. Elijah, fearing the wrath of Jezebel, fled to the wilderness and prayed for death to spare him his sufferings; but Besht feared none of his ignominious enemies. He adhered to the principle of *creatio ex nihilo*, as is evidenced by the fact that he produced, on the spur of the moment, a very excellent meal for his disciples when they were alone in a woods; while Elijah was fed by an Angel, thus proving that he was not endowed with that magnetic power which forced Nature to yield reluctantly her hidden stores. He had to confine himself to such petty predictions as "Dogs will lick the blood of Ahab," etc., and thus showed himself a miserable bungler in comparison with Besht, who resigned all such trifling warnings to his wife. Elijah had no power of penetration and was very lenient in that he permitted Ahaziah to go up on his bed first, and then prophesied that he would no more come down. But when Besht wanted a man to die, he gave him no opportunity of getting on his bed; he killed him then and there. "Small wonder, then, that our Zaddikim are able to do miracles. All things hidden are revealed to them. The time has passed when men defiantly opposed us, and now, all—both great and small, old and young, acknowledge that our Zaddikim can do whatsoever they desire. Yea, their eloquence and piety are so potent, that they can readily persuade even God to perform their wishes. They have the power of punishing men with death and can elevate his spirit to a very high degree."[3]

Reb. Letitschiber is private secretary to his Zaddik. He is a man of strong imagination. After years of indulgence in the contemplation of mankind and the caprices of nature, he is filled with an inexpressible pity for the fate of his fellow beings, and pronounces the dictum, "Become Chasidim, enrich the Zaddik,

[3] See Letters 1, 77, 123; Middoth p. 52; Shivche Habesht, p. 8.

imbibe ceaselessly the strongest brandy and be saved." Noble man, there are not many like him. He lives up to the ideal which permeates his being. To continually quaff intoxicating liquor is for him the quintessence of life's pleasures and God's desires. Can he approach the Messiah in a sober mood? Is it possible that he can gain favor from the celestial creatures without staggering wildly before them? He departs from this life while the contents of a large bottle are scorchingly coursing through his emaciated body—all for the good of humanity.[4]

Sad and depressed, the acme of his wishes to become a Rabbi, a deceived deceiver, Zeinvil Verchievkir slowly wends his way through the "madding crowd." *He* knows himself; *he* realizes that he has more talent than he is credited with. He looks into the horizon and sees himself a Zaddik, wealthy, famous, and from the distance he hears the harmony of the spheres encouraging him, infusing unto him new hope. But when he is recalled to this common mundane sphere, he is filled with fury that—Why are his neighbors so unappreciative? Avaunt, venal slaves!—Oh, God! are his hopes to be realized? He is walking in the forest, sunk in deep meditation, when he hears suddenly a plaintive voice which grows louder, and he knows that someone is wailing. Although he has been disappointed by his fellows, yet the goodness of his nature prevails, and stepping boldly forth, he asks, "Who is it that is weeping?" "Alas! Alas!" moans the voice, which, he becomes aware, comes from the hollow of an immense oak, "I am the spirit whom Besht imprisoned in this oak and doomed to eternal tortures. Save me. Go to your Rabbi and procure from him my freedom. As a reward take this," and there fell at his feet a shining piece of crystal. In his ecstasy Zeinvil caught it up with vulturine rapacity. Here was an adventure. Here was something calculated to make him famous. That night, as he reposed in sweet slumbers, there appeared to him the glory of the ages, Besht, who assured him that by means of this crystal he would become a

[4] See Letters 17, 30, 45, 122.

renowned Zaddik. But woe to the perversity of man! Why should he again have been deceived? Why was he again destined to suffer a heavy blow? Why did the voice in the tree proceed from a wicked rascal who had purposely concealed himself there?[5]

As mentioned above, Megalleh Temirin is written intentionally in a barbarous jargon, and is indicative of the filthy patois which the Chasidim in their innocence call לשון הקדש. The possibilities of translating any passages are precluded altogether, as their humor would necessarily become tame and insipid. There is an utter disregard of correct grammatical construction. Hebrew, Yiddish, and Polish words are mixed indiscriminately; sentence after sentence is a direct rendition of Yiddish phraseology. It is easy to see how this corrupt use of language becomes exceedingly obnoxious to such a man of culture and refinement as Perl. The Haskalah aimed at a revival of the inspiring language of the prophets. Rappaport, Zunz, Erter, Gottlober, Perl and others were purists in the strict sense of the word. The Megalleh Temirin shows how ridiculous was the language of the Chasidim. Who can restrain his laughter at such expressions as נעשה לו סוף שחור[6] "we will bring about his disgrace," a literal translation of the Yiddish phrase מיר וועלן איהם א שווארצען סוף מאכען or יכנים לו א״ה המאה בכתב[6] a rendition of the Yiddish לאז ער זעך פיטטער אריין שיש לו על הנשיאות its literal translation into English being the idiom "It occurred to me," and in Yiddish it is נפל לי על המוח or לאזען אין זיין כתב נשיאות[7] "I cried for help;" or צעקתי גיוואלד or עם איז מיר אריין נעפאלען אין טוח[8] "you can make the agreement for as much money as you like," or תוכלו לעשות קאנטראקט על כמה מאות שטיק,[9] "he did not know German, or לא יכול דייטשעריש[10] to buy things for Sab-

[5] See Letters 4, 15, 20.
[6] Letter 130.
[7] Letter 114.
[8] Letter 147.
[9] Letter 100.
[10] Letter 106.
[11] Letter 20.

bath;" or ציבוק ארוך אם טערקישען טישטיק[12] "A long pipe-stem with a Turkish mouth-piece," or לא יכולנו לעזוב את עצמנו על ארענדאר[13] "we cannot depend on the inn-keeper."

Joseph Perl's work has been praised as a most brilliant satire. He is not unjust, nor does he omit the minutest detail in order to complete the picture of Chasidic life. Indeed it must have been a terrible strain for him to wade through the undelectable literature, but what he derived from it he used with marvellous ability. He was one of the modest champions of the Haskalah. He had seen how Mendelssohn's school had succeeded after hard struggles in instilling into the minds of some Jews a desire for culture, for scientific research, and the impediment caused by Chasidism drove him to despair. His attacks were poignantly felt by them, and thus be contributed in the repulse of their further progress.

NATHAN GORDON.

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[12] Letter 63.

[13] Letter 40.

NOTES ON THE LITURGY.

IN THE study of our Liturgy, it is most interesting to notice the rapid accumulation of theories and reasons for evidently arbitrary modifications of certain phrases. Besides the usual insertions and modifications on various occasions, the causes of which are quite clear from the inserted words themselves, there are a number of modifications which gave rise to much perplexity and serious discussion, on the one hand, and many facetious remarks on the other. Such a variation is that quoted by Abraham Gumbiner, of Kalisch, in his commentary to R. Joseph Karo's Code, concerning the phrase וינוחו בה in the middle benediction of the Sabbath prayer. He succinctly states that "it is customary to read וינוחו בה (feminine) on Friday evening, וינוחו בו (masculine) on Sabbath morning, and וינוחו בם (plural) on Sabbath afternoon[1]." Now since the antecedent of this pronominal particle is שבת קדשך, it is by no means surprising that a statement of that kind, contrary to all rules of grammar, evoked the astonishment of a man like S. Baer[2], and proved a fertile field for speculating Cabbalists and theorizing Mystics. Some wits found even a culinary cause underlying this custom. The Jewish housewife buys both a rooster and a hen for the Sabbath. The hen is served Friday night, therefore we use the feminine gender in our prayer; the rooster is eaten in the morning, hence the masculine gender; and the leavings of both form the afternoon meal, consequently the plural is very appropriate. The reasons given by the Pilpulists and Mystics, though not as humorous, are of the same nature. Some

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[1] מגן אברהם to Shulchan Aruch, Orach Chayim, ch. CCLXVIII, 3.

[2] הוא דבר תמוה ומתמיה, וכנגד כל דרך הלשון—Abodath Israel, Redelheim, 1868, p. 263.

discovered that the sum total of בם, בו, בה, amounts to 57, which is the same as that of זן to feed,[3] or of מזבח, altar. Others claim that the general tone of the evening prayer beginning אתה קדשת refers to the Sabbath of Creation (שבת בראשית), when the joy was entirely on the side of the Sabbath Queen (שבת מלכתא), hence the feminine בה; while the morning prayer, speaking of the rejoicing of Moses on receiving the tablets of stone which contained the Sabbath commandment, refers to the Sabbath of Revelation (שבת מתן תורה), when the exultation was on the side of Israel, the bridegroom, hence the masculine בו. The afternoon, on the other hand, alluding to the union of God and Israel, points to the Messianic Sabbath (שבת שלעתיד), when the union between Israel and the Sabbath will be complete,[4] hence the plural בם.[5]

All this fabric seems to me to have been woven of simply three various readings. Two of these readings, viz. בה and בו, are undoubtedly based on the *kere* and *kethib* in Jer. xvii, 24, where the Sabbath is referred to both as masculine and feminine, the *kere* being בו and the *kethib* בה[6]. Since Kimchi[7] and others[8] maintain that both the *kere* and the *kethib* are right, it is quite natural that the prayer book should retain both readings, so as to leave the choice to the reader. Regarding the reading בם it appears that there was another version of the previous sentence in which the plural שבתות קדשך instead of the singular occurred. The plural בם had, therefore, to be inserted to agree with the plural andecedent. Indeed, R. Sheneor Solomon of Liady[9] as

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[3] שירי כנסת הגדולה by Chayim b. Israel Benveniste, ch. CCLXVIII, 2.

[4] Cf. אלמלא משמרין ישראל שתי שבתות כהלכתן מיד נגאלין (Sabbath 118b) מור אורח חיים ch. 292.

[5] Cf. סידור רש"בן by Solomon Hirsch Schick, Vienna, 1894, p. 22; שירי כנסת הגדולה CCLXVIII, 2; חועלת יעקב by R. Meir ben Gaboi, p. 29a.

[6] Cf. Ex. XXXI, 15; XXXV, 3; Lev. XXIII, 3; Nu. XXVIII, 10; Is. LVI, 2; LXVI, 23.

[7] בה כתיב ויקרי בו ושניהם נכונים כו' — Kimchi to this verse.

[8] Tosaphoth to Kethuboth 5a; מגן דוד by David b. Samuel, to Orach Chayim CCXCII, 2.

[9] In his Shulchan Arnch CCLXVIII, 6.

well as R. Solomon Ganzfried[10], seem to read שבתות plural. That the singular and plural of שבת were used interchangeably in the prayers, is noticeable from the fact that Jacob ben Asher quotes Rab Amram as inserting in the first benediction[11]: רצה והנחיל שבת לבניהם לשכחה while in Siddur Rab Amram itself the plural is used: רצה והנחיל לבניהם שבתות למנוחה[12]. Thus the three readings בה, בו, and בם arose. But later every one of these was assigned its place in the three prayers respectively[13].

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Something similar to this we find in grace after meal (ברכת המזון). At the end of the four prescribed benedictions, a verse from Ps. xviii, 51, is recited. This verse occurs also in II. Sam. xxii, 51, with some slight variation, viz., the *kere* is מגדול instead of מגדיל. By an established custom both these readings are utilized; the reading in Psalms on week days, and that in II. Samuel on Sabbaths, New Moons and Festivals. Here, too, the reason for the apportionment is by no means clear, and much has been said and written about it. Some ingeniously found it indicated in the passage חודש ושבת קרא מקרא (Is. 1. 13), i. e. on New Moon and Sabbath read from מקרא, from the Prophets, not from Kethubim[14]. This, of course, cannot be taken too seriously. R. David b. Joseph Abudarhim attributes this custom to the fact that מגדול, as found in II. Samuel, contains a *"cholem"*, which is a long vowel (מלך גדול), while מגדל in Psalms is spelled with a short vowel (מלך קטן). We, therefore, apportion the long-vowelled word for the royal day, the Sabbath, and the short-vowelled

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[10] קצור שלחן ערוך LXXVI, 3.

[11] טור אורח חיים ch. 268.

[12] סדר רב עמרם, Warsaw, 1865, p. 25.

[13] Cf. what is reported of R. Abraham David of Buczacz by his disciple Moses Dob of Kolomea: נוסחאות כי כן היה נוהג תמיד היכא שיש ב' לומר שניהם (ברכת אברהם, Kolomea, 1888, p. 3). Also the Talmudic rule (Sotah 40a) הלכך נימרונהי לכלהו.

[14] שלחן ערוך אורח חיים edited by R. Sheneor Solomon of Liady, ch. CLXXXIX, 7.

expression for the week days[15]. A number of other reasons is offered by various writers, among whom are Isaac Satanow and W. Heidenheim. But the most plausible explanation is that given by S. Baer in his notes on the Siddur. He maintains that "the Mesadrim, or the redactors of the Prayer Book, found here two similar passages and did not want to give preference to either, so they designated one for week days, and the other for Sabbaths and Holidays[16]." In this instance, however, I would venture the suggestion that the custom probably arose from a mistaken abbreviation. The Siddur had two versions מנדל and מגדול and after the latter expression the reference to the Bible was indicated in brackets by בש"ב standing for בשמוא' ב', i. e. II. Sam. This was easily taken by some copyists to stand for בשבת, and hence the custom. My theory is somewhat corroborated by the fact that while in the later editions of the Siddur מגדול is given as the reading for Sabbath, New Moon, and Festivals, the earlier sources, as, for instance, Abudarhim, seem to know of this reading for the Sabbath only[17].

MAX REICHLER.

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[15] Abudarhim, Prague 1784, p. 103a.

[16] עבודת ישראל p. 561.

[17] Cf. תוצאות חיים by S. Baer, Prague 1784, p. 103a.

MY DIARY.

May 24, 1903.—This is a diary. I write it for the good of the world only. A week ago our rabbi told us in a lecture that if we possessed the diary of a Babylonian woman, containing her marketing list and all that, the world would know much more about Babylon and its civilization. I think this is true. So I'm going to write a diary for myself. But if the world can be helped by it, of course I won't object to its being found.

What shall I write? It is so fine to have a diary but so hard to use it. It is foolish for me to put my marketing list in here, for anyone could read the prices of provisions in the newspapers.—I have a new servant.— — — But I must write important things—things that "mean much for my character," as Fra Diavolo says. I am going to give to this book "chips from my mind," as Mary McLane says. Oh, she's a genius. I saw a picture of her once.

Of course, I shall write here only those things which I would not tell to anyone, not even to my closest chum at the Club. Everything will be plain and sincere, worthy of my choice.

Yesterday I went to Temple. A strange rabbi gave the sermon. He is a fine-looking man, tall, stately. He squints slightly, but you hardly notice this when he speaks, for he shuts his eyes. He gave a fine sermon on the Sychogical Side of Reform. Everybody said it was fine; it was, too. He showed how the early Jews were conservative because of business needs—Oh! I don't like to sermonize, so I will just tell how he was liked. Sometimes I could not hear what he said, because Mrs. M— in the seat behind

me talked all the time. Again, he used such large words that—remember, little book, this is our secret—I could hardly understand them. But I enjoyed the lecture greatly. It was so inspiring to hear a man use such language.—I wish Dr. F.—— were as handsome as he!

May 25, 1903.—To-day I went to a meeting of our Club. Everybody talked gossip; I was disgusted. That's all these Jewish clubs seem to do. Any refined woman must be disgusted.

May 28, 1903.—Nothing seems to occur for me to put into my diary. I don't suppose I need to write every day. Looking deeply into the matter, I need to write only when I have something really important to tell.

June 1, 1903.—This has been a great day for me. To-day we had a lecture and a banquet at the Club. Professor Dummeszeugsprecher, M. D., Ph. D., LL. D., Professor of Indo-Semitico-Asiatico-European Philology at the University of Terra del Fuego, a former colleague of Professor Teufelsdreck of the University of Weissnichtwo, gave a talk on the influence of Women's Clubs on Hydrophobia. It was a grand speech. He told us how great and ancient the Jewish race is, how earnestly he longed to have a Jewish mother, how praiseworthy anything Jewish is in the eyes of Gentiles. He said he loved us all, for "was Jesus not a Jew? Were not all the apostles of Hebrew origin?" Everybody thought, "here is a man who appreciates us;" and everybody thinks the Professor is just darling.

We had a banquet, too. The Professor ate like a regular man. Such an appetite as he had! He seemed to like the things I fixed for him. Oh, yes! I sat right next to him. I belong to the Committee and that's my right.

June 2, 1903.—I'm so excited I can hardly write. I've discovered a great fact! Professor Dummeszeugsprecher is a Jew himself! No one thought of this yesterday; no one could imagine it. But I thought over his name and remembered that once, when I was down town among the orthodox Jews—of course, I was slumming—I heard some one say "dumm," and another

said "sprichen." These sound just like the Professor's name. He must be a Jew, anyhow. He praised the Jews so highly; he seemed to like them so well. And he liked all the Jewish dishes at the banquet, the oysters and everything. He looks like a Jew, too. He has dark eyes, a beard and a nose that only Jews can display in public. Oh! I'll wager anything that this great man is a Jew! That is why he never mentioned anything Christian; he wanted to see if we could guess what he was.

June 3, 1903.—I have told my discovery to the ladies. They are all excited over it. They didn't think I had such keenness. Everybody is just wild about it—except that Mrs. L——. She is the meanest woman I've seen. She says the Professor is a Protestant.—How does she know? I guess I'm as good as she. I know the time when her parents peddled from house to house. And she! why, I wouldn't give one year of my education for ten of hers. She went to school here in the common schools. I went to Miss Silverbilt's Academy and passed high in my class with great honor. And she contradicts me! Really, I wish Mrs. L—— would resign from the club.

June 4, 1903.—I am still excited about my discovery. The people are beginning to realize at last what great people they have overlooked. I saw several of my friends to-day. They all congratulated me and hoped that I would publish my discovery. Only Mrs. L——refuses to give me the credit due to patient consideration and correct results. She said that she had spoken to Dr. X—— about it. He agreed with her, she said. Dr. X—— claims—so she said—that the name is German, meaning a speaker of nonsense—or sense—or something like it, and that the Professor is a pure Protestant. But this doesn't prove anything. One man's word is as good as another's. Because Dr. X is a teacher of Hebrew, he isn't a walking encyclopedia. Why, he might as well try to advise me about the fashions of this summer as interfere with my facts about Professor Dummeszeugsprecher. Because all the women here rave about his handsomeness and his sociability, he gives advice on all sorts of things, and they consider his

word like the Bible. Oh well! He may be right in some things; but in this matter I am right. And the worst is that he says Professor Dummeszeugsprecher isn't worth the fuss we are making! After that great speech, after all the love for Jews that he showed, Dr. X—— says such an absurd thing! I really believe he's jealous. He's afraid his social standing has been eclipsed. Well, it deserves to be now, after that. Just think! "Professor Dummeszeugsprecher, a simple book-worm, cold, petty—without originality!" How foolishly some people speak!

June 6, 1903.—No sooner did I leave town this morning than I met Dr. F——, our dear Rabbi. He shook my hand heartily, spoke of my services to Judaism and assured me that he would see that I receive public recognition. "For," he said, "all the labors of our life are worthless unless the public recognize them." And he is right, too. For who would care to go to the charity affairs and conduct classes at the settlements if other people were not told about it—so that they, too, might do good works? Anyway, Dr. F—— promised me that I shall receive public mention.

June 8, 1903.—Great goodness! How can I restrain myself! In the *Judean* there is an article about me—an article in large print, right at the head of the society column. It states that I have created a great stir among "thinking people"—"thinking people," notice—by my original discovery of a fact worthy of recognition by every self-respecting Jew. I am heralded as one of Israel's wise matrons, and something is quoted from the Bible about the virtuous woman who stays at home and does all sorts of fine things—just as I am doing for my people. I'm so happy—not for myself, of course, but for the race. Professor Dummeszeugsprecher is a Jew!

June 15, 1903.—Nothing new has occurred. The only topic of importance at the club is my discovery. I believe I'm to be given a slight honor for my work. Everybody is so delighted and so confident that my conclusion is correct. Surely, we Jews may be proud!

June 18, 1903.—Well, of all things! To-day I received a letter from Professor Dummeszeugsprecher himself! He wrote to me—to no one else in our whole city! He wrote a beautiful letter; I am delighted with it. What a fine man he is! I have put the letter in my curio-cabinet and have shown it to many callers. Everybody is delighted! The letter is beautiful! He says that he read in the *Judean* of the honor I had gained, but was surprised at the announcement of his creed. He says that he would consider it a great honor to belong to a race which I honored by my membership, but his parents were Protestants, and he himself was a Protestant, a member of the Lutheran Church. He begs me to correct my error and to remain firm in the knowledge that he will always remember our club with joy. I'm so proud of this letter! Just think; he wrote to me and praises me—and he, of all men, is absolutely sincere. I wish Mrs. L—— would call on me, so that I could show her this letter!

June 20, 1903.—Mrs. L—— called to-day. I didn't open the conversation about Professor Dummeszeugsprecher; she did. She told us she had heard of a letter that I had received from the eminent scholar. I proudly showed it to her, and what do you think? She handed it back— "Sarcasm—such pettiness for a learned man!" Oh! I'm disgusted with Mrs. L——. She never can see a thing as it is. I was glad when she left. She has no racial pride, no care for anything except that Dr. X—— and herself.

July 24, 1903.—I had almost forgotten my diary. Here it has been lying for over a month without my touching it. Anyway, I don't see the use of it. If people want news they can see the papers. And people are so unappreciative, after all. I am going to stop writing. I'll do what I had in mind when I first wrote these thoughts. My work does no good here; it will do good to you, my dear sister-in-law, and to you I shall send this diary. I really had this in mind all along. I'm sure it will do you good.

August 30, 1904.—This will be my last writing. To-day I shall send this precious book to you, my dear, bound in Japan vellum with satin finish. I know you will read it carefully and

appreciate my work. You will know what I have done to improve the Jewish race, to show its greatest worth. You will see how all my efforts have been thrown aside by some of my own people, and how outsiders, Gentiles, have recognized my worth, in spite of them.

Farewell, little book! You have served me well. I can give you no more appropriate ending than to say you will truly be of service to the world, if you honestly portray the feelings of one whom Professor Dummeszeugsprecher was proud to call his friend!

EUPHRONISBIA BUENETTE LE VAY.

At the Villa d' Argent.

(A. L. S.)

ZECHUTH ABOTH AND THE AKEDAH.

BY EPHRAIM FRISCH.

MAN has always pictured heaven in the terms of earth. The Jewish mind has also projected its experience here on the world beyond. In his literature the Jew has developed pretty distinctly the idea that we come before God for judgment just as we appear before human judges.[1] The *Beth-din* on high is exactly like the *Beth-din* below.[2] Satan[3] and other inimical angels act as prosecutors of those who stand in judgment while friendly angels defend them and speak in their behalf.[4] Nations, like individuals, stand on trial. Moses acts as Israel's defender.[5] When Israel is in distress God himself speaks in his behalf.[6]

The Court of Heaven

The Court of Heaven even uses the same legal terms as the terrestrial courts. Various forms of the word חיב are used to express shortage in the minimum amount of merit necessary for acquittal; while forms of זכה express the idea of *sufficiency of merit*, זכות being used for *the amount over and above the*

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[1] Mish. R. H. I, 2.

[2] Sab. 129 b.

[3] Jubilees, ed. Charles, xvii. 16; Sanh. 89 b, and Rashi to Gen. xxii. 1; Rashi to Taanith 4a.

[4] Ex. R. 31; Gen. R. 56.

[5] Deut. R. 3; Sab. 32a.

[6] Taanith Jer. II. 6.

minimum.[7] The minimum of goodness or the least amount of merit necessary for acquittal seems to be a fraction over one-half of the total number of actions.[8]

When one has this minimum amount of goodness to his credit, well and good. But suppose he is short, what does he do? Is he lost? If God were to judge him in strict justice (מדת הדין), he would indeed be lost. For if God judged the world with the rigor of justice, how could the world endure?[9] But fortunately God has also another quality, the quality of mercy (מדת הרחמים)[10] Now God will consent to soften from justice to mercy[11] if the person brought to judgment can make up for what is missing in his own merit by *drawing on the merit of others related to him* by kinship of family or race.[12] *Merit is transferable.* Mercy is shown to the moderns because of the merit of the ancients, and was shown to the ancients in anticipation of the merit of the moderns.[13]

God as the Just and the Merciful

He Allows Merit to be Borrowed

But upon what specific source are they to draw whose own merit is not sufficient? Upon the treasury of merit accumulated by extraordinary good men who have to their credit much more

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[7] For a study of the forensic and the "soteriological" uses of Zechuth, see Weber: Jüd. Theologie, Leipzig, 1880, pp. 267-269.

[8] Kid. 40b.

[9] Gen. R. 12, end.

[10] For the distinction between these two qualities see Gen. R. 33; Pesikta, Shubah; Sanh. 97b. They are also called מדת טובה and מדת פורענות, Sanh. 92a.; Ber. 48b.

[11] "And I will change for your sake the quality of justice into that of mercy."— Pesikta, Bachodesh H.; Cf. also Lev. R. 29.

[12] "Until Solomon sinned he depended on his own merit; but after he sinned, he had to be assisted by the merit of his fathers."—Koh. R. to Koh. i. 1.

[13] Gen. R. 29, end.

Treasury of Merit

goodness than is requisite for salvation.[14] These men performed deeds of exceptionally high order and the recompense for these deeds, since the agents themselves do not need it, has accumulated into a fund which may be drawn upon later.[15] The tribe of Judah, R. Tarphon explained to his disciples, obtained the kingship because, when all the other tribes were afraid to go into the sea, Judah plunged in and saved the name of God from disgrace.[16] This is an example of a strikingly good deed which leaves behind it a deposit in the treasury of merit.

The time of such men of renown and of such deeds of heroism is the past. The past and all its characters are idealized by all peoples; and the Jews form no exception. How Jewish literature has transformed David's character into that of the most ideal of men! The Patriarchs are already idealized in the Book of Jubilees, written (according to Charles), between 135 and 96 B. C. "They are transformed into saints by our author. It is for this reason that Gen. xii. 11-13 (which tells of Abraham's representing Sarai as his sister), is omitted, and, likewise, Isaac's lie about Rebecca, Gen. xxvi. 7. Jacob is represented as a model of filial affection and obedience. The passages relating to Jacob's devices for increasing his flocks (Gen. xxx. 35-38) and his fear of and measures for propitiating Esau (Gen. xxxii—xxxiii), are omitted."[17] The past was the time of the Golden Age when earth was fairer, its inhabitants nobler; when men lived longer and held closer communion with the deity.[18] But the world has

[14] A comparative study between the Jewish treasury of merit and the Christian treasury of the Saints would be very interesting.

[15] "The goodness which Israel did in the wilderness was stored up (מתוקן) for them from that time, from the days of Moses; and when was it returned to them? In the time of darkness, the time of Jeremiah."—Shocher Tob, ed. Buber, p. 251.

[16] Ibid. p. 341.

[17] R. H. Charles: The Book of Jubilees, London, Adam and Charles Black, 1902, Introd. III—IV.

[18] "Come and see the difference between men of early times and

Idealization of the Past and Depreciation of the Present

degenerated. The Golden Age was succeeded by the Silver, the Silver by the Copper, and now we have the Iron Age. From a life the length of Methusaleh's man's span of existence gradually decreased to three score and ten years.[19] The present is always belittled and underrated, and it was especially so among the Jews, who, after the sixth century B. C., ever lived under great hardships, and, therefore, looked back to the past as the golden era. "If men of the first generations were angels, we are but sons of man; if they were sons of man, we are like asses—and not even like the ass of R. Chanina ben Dosa or that of R. Pinchas ben Yair, but like other (ordinary) asses."[20]

The past, therefore, rich in men of great achievements and characters exalted, has more goodness accumulated than it needs. It can spare some to the delinquent present generations. Nay, more, it is only through this merit of the forefathers that the later generations can at all attain salvation, so unworthy are they themselves.[21] This merit of the forefathers is termed זכות אבות or זכות

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those of later times; those of early times were tested directly by God, for Scripture says, And God tried Abraham ..... but latter day people were tried through the Gentiles, for Scripture says, And these are the nations whom God left to try Israel by means of them.— Tanch. to Gen. xxii. 1, ed. Buber p. 110.

[19] "And he (Abraham) lived three Jubilees and four weeks of years, one hundred and seventy-five years, and completed the days of his life, being old and full of days. For the days of the forefathers, of their life, were nineteen jubilees; and after the Flood they began to grow less than nineteen jubilees, and to decrease in jubilees, and to grow old quickly, and to be full of their days by reason of manifest tribulation and the wickedness of their ways, with tne exception of Abraham."— Charles: Jubilees xxiii. 8-9.

[20] Sab. 112b. Cf. also Yoma 9b, where the same sentiment is expressed more vulgarly, but no less forcibly: "Better is the fingernail of the ancients than the belly of the moderns."

[21] Pesik., Bachodesh H.; Ex. R. 15; Lev. R. 29.

Zechuth Aboth

הראשונים. But more technically, זכות אבות refers to the merits of the Patriarchs. The Jewish fancy loved to extol and idealize the founders of the race. "At the very beginning God wanted to found the world but he did not find it possible until the Fathers arose. . . . As soon as the Fathers arose and manifested their merit, God said, *For the sake of these will I found the world.*"[22] God says to Israel, If you want to be declared innocent before me in judgment on this day (*Rosh Hashanah*), you must recall the merit of your Fathers.[23] Lot was spared through the merit of Abraham.[24] God went before Israel in the wilderness because of the merit of Abraham,[25] God spoke to Moses from the mountain because of the merit of the Fathers.[26] God did not answer Elijah until he appealed to him as the God of Abraham.[27] When Israel sinned in the wilderness Moses stood long before God and offered many prayers; but he was not answered: when, however, he said, "Remember Abraham, Isaac and Israel, thy servants, he was answered at once."[28] As long as God remembers the Fathers he keeps the world in mind along with them.[29] The extent to which the idea of the Merit of the Fathers entered into the Liturgy[30] shows that it was not a cold theological notion but a living force in the minds of the people. It was conceived of as a treasury which, according to R. Acha, never gives out.[31]

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[22] Ex. R. 15.

[23] Pesik., Bach. H. and Lev. R. 29.

[24] Tanch. Vienna ed., 25a.

[25] Ex. R. 15.

[26] Ex. R. 28.

[27] Ex. R. 44.

[28] Sab. 30a.

[29] Lev. R. 36, near end.

[30] אבות in the daily prayers, אתה זוכר in the Rosh Hashanah liturgy the עקדה פרשת, an "extra" said by very pious people after the daily prayers, etc. For the Akedah in the liturgy and more particularly in the Piyyutim, see Zunz.: Die Syn. Poesie des Mittelalters, Berlin, 1855, pp. 136-138.

[31] Lev. R. 36, end; Sab. 55a.

Of all the great deeds of the Patriarchs the *Akedah* of Isaac (עקדת יצחק lit. *the binding*) was seized upon as the noblest, and was exalted and magnified. The great merit of Abraham in being willing to offer his beloved son to God forms a main theme in Jewish literature. Philo devotes many pages to show that this act of Abraham's was much more distinguished and more exalted in its motive than all other similar deeds related in history.[32] Josephus likewise elaborates and magnifies Abraham's greatness beyond the account given in the Bible. If Isaac had been an ordinary boy, it would not have been so hard for Abraham to give him up, but he was an unusual lad; he had endeared himself to his parents "by the exercise of every virtue."[33] Isaac was Abraham's only (beloved) son, his very soul—for Isaac is called *thine only son* to show that he was Abraham's *soul* since *only one* is in the Bible used synonymously with *the soul*[34]—, he had been given to Abraham as the comforter of his old age;[35] and yet Abraham's love of God was stronger than any earthly attachments.[36] It was

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[32] De Ab. 35.

[33] Antiq. I. 13.

[34] "Even if God had asked of our father Abraham the pupil of his eye he would have given it to him; and not only the pupil of the eye would he have given to him, but he was willing to give him his very soul which was dearer to him than anything else, for it is said, Take thy son, thine only one, whom thou lovest, Isaac (Gen. xxii. 2). Now was it not surely known that he was his only son [what is the use of specifying it?] T h i n e o n l y o n e refers to the s o u l which is called o n l y o n e; as it is said, Deliver m y s o u l from the sword, mine o n l y o n e from the power of the dog (Ps. xxii. 21).— Sifre to Deut. xxxii. 10; also Tanch. to Num. xv. 55.

[35] Tana d' be Eliahu Rabba, Ch. vii.

[36] "God said w h o m t h o u l o v e s t, to show men that what Abraham loved with the intensest love he contemned before his love of the creator."—Sefer Ha-Yashar (ascribed to Rabbenu Tam) Ch. ii; Cf. also Jubilees xvii. 16; Philo: De Ab. 35; Sanh. 89b; Maimonides: Moreh, iii. 24.

not, however, without the terrible pangs of a father's feelings that Abraham obeyed the order of God. Satan, who doubted the extent of Abraham's obedience, was at once silenced by the latter's readiness.[37] The struggle against his paternal feelings was, indeed, most difficult.[38] "Although in his heart he was weeping, with his mouth he said, Here I am."[39] To show his eagerness to carry out the will of God he rose early in the morning.[40] On the way to Moriah Satan tempted him. Had he lost his mind? Would he kill the son given to him in his old age? Yes, he would do even more than that (Abraham answered).[41] And his decision to sacrifice Isaac was not made in haste, but after due time for reflection and free from the influence of momentary piety. To show the world that Abraham did not act in haste and confusion but that he was fully conscious of what he was doing, God had him make a journey of three days to Moriah.[42] So honest was Abraham in his desire to obey God's wish that he would not even think of taking advantage of an accident that might happen to his son and thereby render him unfit for sacrifice: therefore he built the altar by himself (ויבן , singular) lest a stone should fall on

Abraham's Merit

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[37] Sanh. 89b.

[38] Abraham's distress is shown by his pretended uncertainty as to which of his sons God wanted: "And God said, Take thy son . . . . . And Abraham said, I have two sons; which one do you mean? And God said, Thine only one. And Abraham said, Each is the only one to his mother. And God said, The one whom you love. And Abraham said, are there limitations to my affection? And God said, Isaac;" and then no doubt could remain any longer.—Sanh. 89b.; Pesik. R. 40 (Bach. H.) Gen. R. 55.

[39] Tanch. ed. Buber, p. 108; ibid. p. 111.

[40] Targum Yer. to Gen. xxii. 14.

[41] Gen. R. 56; Pesik. R. 40; Cf. also Sanh. 89b; Rashi to Gen. xxii. 1.

[42] Tanch., ed. Buber, p. 113; Pesik. R. 40; Rashi to Gen. xxii. 1. For the same reason God did not come out plainly with Isaac's name at first—in order to allow Abraham the full possession of his mind when he answered yes or no.—Sanh. 89b.

Isaac and blemish him and thus make him unfit for sacrifice.[43] The altar is finished. Abraham stretches out his hand to take the knife; tears drop from his eyes on those of his son; nevertheless he joyfully does the will of his Creator.[44] The angels themselves weep when they see Abraham reach out for the knife, and they implore God to stay his hand![45] Great indeed is Abraham's devotion to God. God credits him with as much merit as would have been his, had he offered himself as a sacrifice.[46]

Thus has Jewish imagination exalted and magnified Abraham's credit for his willingness to sacrifice his dear son Isaac. The basis for all this is, nevertheless, Biblical. But there is another phase of the *Akedah* which has no Biblical basis whatsoever, namely, the *Merit of Isaac*. This new element is entirely the product of post-Biblical times. It first arose, perhaps, in that mythico-poetical age which gave birth to the whole Apocryphical literature, for already Josephus quotes Isaac as saying to Abraham that he was willing to be sacrificed.[47] Jewish literature—unconsciously, of course,—attempts to show Isaac's merit in three ways:

Merit of Isaac

Exhibited in Three Ways

(1) *By representing Isaac at the time of the sacrifice as older than he probably was.* Josephus gives his age as 25; Genesis Rabba, 56, as 26 or 37; Targum Jonathan ben Uziel[48] as 36; and the majority of the other sources as 37.[49] The interest manifested by the rabbis in increasing Isaac's age did not escape the critical eye of Ibn Ezra. He recognized that the underlying reason for increasing the age was the desire to increase the responsibility of Isaac and consequently also

(1) Isaac Represented Older Than He Was

[43] Gen. R. 56; Pesik. R. 40.

[44] Gen. R. 56.

[45] Pesik. R. 40; Cf. also Zohar I to Va-Yera; Gen. R. 56.

[46] Gen. R. 56.

[47] Antiq. I. 13.

[48] To Gen. xxii. 1.

[49] Gen. R. 55; Tanch. ed. Buber, p. 109; Pirke d' rabbi Eliezer, Ch. 31; Seder Olam Rabba, Ch.I, Amsterdam, 1711

his credit. He says:[50] "Our rabbis have said that Isaac was 37 years old [at the time of his sacrifice]. As a matter of tradition we may accept this, but on theoretical grounds this does not seem plausible, for [if Isaac were actually 37 years old] his merit would most probably have been revealed (i. e. stated in the Bible), *and his reward would have been double that of his father, for* [in that case] *he would have been handing himself over to the slaughter with his full consent. But there is nothing in Scripture indicating* [such merit] *on the part of Isaac.* The most rational supposition is that he was about 13 years old and that *his father took him by force and bound him against his will,* and the proof for this theory is the fact that his father kept the secret from him saying, God will provide himself with a sheep, for *if he had said to him,* THOU *wilt be the burnt-offering, he probably would have run away.*

(2) The second method of clothing Isaac with extraordinary merit is *by describing him as willing, nay, longing to be sacrificed* in order to obey the will of God. Ishmael is represented as boasting to Isaac that he was better than Isaac and had done more to gain the favor of God, for he had been circumcized at the age of thirteen when he was old enough to refuse, if he wanted to, whereas Isaac had been circumcized when but eight days old and could not, therefore, be credited with something over which he had no power. Isaac thereupon replied: And do you boast so much of your sacrifice of one organ? *If God said to me* [now at thirty-seven],[51] *Sacrifice thyself to me, I would sacrifice myself.*[52] And this was not a mere boast of Isaac's, but he remained firm when he learned that he was actually to be offered as a sacrifice. Neither Satan's tantalizing innuendos on the way to Moriah,[53]

(2) Eager To Be Sacrificed

[50] Commentary to Gen. 22:4.

[51] Commentary to Gen. xxii. 4.

[52] Sanh. 89b; Gen. R. 55; Tanch. ibid.; Targum Jonathan b. Uziel to Gen. xxii. 1.

[53] Gen. R. 56; Pesik. R. 40.

nor Abraham's foreboding remark, God will provide himself with a sheep; if not, thou wilt be the sheep for the burnt-offering, my son,[54]—neither of these circumstances could make him waver. Nay more, he was not merely a receptive agent in the sacrifice but an *active* one. A man of 37 cannot be bound without his approval.[55] This inference is almost unnecessary when we have his own words which show that he made every precaution to prevent the sacrifice from being tainted with the least imperfection! *Father,* he said, *I am young, and I fear lest my body quiver out of dread of the knife and thus the slaughter become invalid and be not accepted for thee as a sacrifice.*[56]

(3) The third way by which Isaac's merit is heightened, is *by representing the process of the sacrifice as having gone further than it did according to the Biblical account.* The Midrash[57] says that although Isaac was not actually killed, God gave the act as much credit as if it had been completely done. But this view did not satisfy the more imaginative minds, and we have one rabbi saying: "*As soon as the sword touched Isaac's neck, his soul flew out and escaped*; when God caused his voice to be heard from between the Cherubim and said, Do not stretch forth thy hand to the youth, his soul returned to his body."[58] Isaac actually was already dead! How much greater, therefore, the merit of the sacrifice! *It was not a proposed sacrifice but an actual one!*

(3) And as Actually Having Died

Thus we have Isaac assisting his father heartily in preparations made for his own death. How glorious this appeared to

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[54] Ibid.

[55] Gen. R. 56.

[56] Gen. R. 56; Tanch., ed. Buber, p. 114; Pesik R. 40; Targum Jonathan b. Uziel and Targum Yer. to Gen. xxii. 10. Cf. also Pirke d'rabbi Eliezer, Ch. 31.

[57] Gen. R. 55.

[58] Pirke d'rabbi Eliezer, Ch. 31.

Father and Son Meritorious

idealists! Father and son went together, the one glad to sacrifice, the other glad to be sacrificed; the one to bind, the other to be bound; the one to kill, the other to be killed[59] And the deed was not unobserved on high; for God was sitting and watching the father binding and the son being bound, each with his whole heart.[60]

Great was the reward of the two Patriarchs for this extraordinary willingness to obey God. Not so much in its immediate compensation, however, but in its future bearings, did the reward consist. The minutest link in the whole chain of actions constituting the *Akedah,* carried along with it its after-flows of goodness. For the two splits that Abraham made in the wood of the burnt-offering he acquired the merit of splitting the sea before the Israelites.[61] While Abraham was binding Isaac, his son, below, God bound the intercessors for the Gentiles above.[62] Why is the knife Abraham used called מאכלת ? Because all the food which Israel eats (אוכלים) in this world is due only to this knife.[63] The *Akedah* in its single parts and in its totality was a perfect event, so extraordinary is its super-goodness that it came to be looked upon as a fund[64] of merit upon which later generations might draw. The Jews of later times, living in a hostile world, suspecting that it was their own sinfulness which brought them to their low estate, turned away from the miserable present to the glorious past when God was more favorably inclined towards Israel, when

[59] Pesik. R. 40; Cf. also Targum Jon. b. Uziel and Targum Yer to Gen. xxii:10

[60] Pirke d'rabbi Eliezer, Ch. 31.

[61] Gen. R. 55.

[62] Gen. R. 56.

[63] Gen. R. 56; Cf. also Rashi to Gen. xxii. 6

[64] When God was about to destroy Israel, angry at David's numbering of the troops, he saw Isaac's ashes and the sight led him to spare them.—Berach. 62b. Ashes is put on the head when fasting to call God's attention to the ashes of Isaac.—Taanith 16a; Taanith Jer. ii. 1.

the great men among the Jews stored up a treasury of superfluous merit for their descendants.[65] Abraham is represented as making precisely this proviso with God, the proviso, namely, that his and Isaac's descendants should, when they are in distress, be permitted to draw upon the store of credit accumulated by the *Akedah*.[66] In a prayer to God he says that just as he did not insist on his just rights, not hesitating to offer Isaac though God had a while before promised to perpetuate his seed through Isaac, so God should be lenient with Isaac's descendants; "when the descendants of Isaac fall into sin and bad deeds, remember for their benefit the *Akedah* of Isaac, their father, and *rise from the throne of justice to the throne of mercy,* and be filled with mercy for them, and have pity on them, and change the quality of justice to the quality of mercy for their sake."[67] And God answers: "The descendants of Jacob are indeed going to sin before me, and I shall judge them on *Rosh Hashanah*; but if they want to be acquitted (to find *Zechuth*) for themselves, by my recalling for their benefit the *Akedah* of Isaac, let them blow to me on the horn (*Shofar*) of this ram (indicating the ram that substituted Isaac in the sacrifice)."[68]

The Akedah As a Treasury of Merit

Notice in the above that the *Akedah*, as a borrowed fund can be used with God only when he is acting in his quality of the Merciful. At the recollection of the *Akedah* God always discards his severity and assumes the attitude of compassion. Indeed, on the very Day of Judgment—*Rosh Hashanah*—the Akedah is most invoked and most effective. The *Shofar* is used to remind God

Efficient By Appealing to God's Mercy

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[65] Simon b. Isaac, who wrote a liturgical poem on the Akedah, contrasted the present misery and the old glory.—Zunz: Syn. Poesie, pp. 175-176.

[66] Gen. R. 56; Tanch., ed. Vienna, p. 28b.

[67] Lev. R. 29; Pesik., Bach. H.; Cf. also Taanith Jer. ii. 6; Tanch., ed. Vienna, 28b; Targum Jon. b. Uziel and Targum Yer. to Gen. xxii. 14.

[68] Tanch., ibid., Pesik. R. 40; Lev. R. ibid.

of the horn of the ram that substituted for Isaac.[69] The Scriptural reading for the Second Day of the *Yom Ha-din* is the *Akedah*. The *Akedah*, in short, opens its treasury and saves later Israel in judgment by loaning it some of its unused goodness, a loan which is accepted by God, in his quality of the Merciful, as their own possession.

In some such way as has been indicated above grew up the idea of the *Akedah*. It is a phase of *Zechuth Aboth*, which is based on the conception that the past was grand while the present is insignificant; that, at judgment, some of the grandeur of the past can be transferred to the present through the kindness of a lenient God, who is mindful of the great deeds of olden times and pities the weaknesses of later generations. The *Akedah* is by far the most important phase of *Zechuth Aboth*. Perhaps its power in rabbinical thought can best be shown by quoting a Haggadah from Sabbath 89b. The question is raised why Isaac is not mentioned in the sentence in Isaiah lxiii, "For thou art our father, for Abraham does not know us and Israel does not recognize us." "In the time to come God will say to Abraham, Thy sons have sinned against me. Abraham answers, Lord of the Universe, let them be blotted out to prevent shame from coming on thy name. Then God says, I will say it to Jacob who experienced the pains of raising children; perhaps he will have pity on them. He says, Thy children have sinned. Jacob answers, King of the Universe, let them be blotted out to prevent shame from coming on thy name. . . . He then turns to Isaac and says, Thy sons have sinned against me. Isaac answers, Almighty, say *my* sons, not *thy* sons; for when they said in thy presence 'we shall do' before 'we shall hear' (Ex. 20), you called them 'my son, my first-born' (Ex. 4)—*my* sons, therefore, and not *thy* sons. And, besides, how much did they sin? How many are the

Summary

The Akedah the most important phase of Zechuth Aboth

[69] Rosh H. 16a; Taanith Yer. ii. 6; Cf. also references in note 65. time of Jeremiah."—Shocher Tob, ed. Buber, p. 251.

years of man? Seventy. Deduct 25 (of their youth) when thou dost not punish them. There remain 50. Deduct 25 for the nights. There remain 25. Deduct 12½ which they spend in prayer and bodily needs; there remain 12½. If thou wilt bear the responsibility for all of these, well and good; if not, I shall bear half and you half. And if you will say that I should bear all the responsibility, behold, I offered myself in sacrifice!" Isaac's intercession is successful. Abraham and Jacob have neither the keen interest nor the necessary merit to interfere. Such is the power of the *Akedah*.

ECCLESIASTES: SOME QUATRAINS.

I.

VANITY of vanities, alas,
And all is vanity! Generations pass,
Going and coming, but the stable Earth
Still tides, abides in dull unwieldly mass.

II.

Forth, lo! the sun at peep of dawn ascends;
And now with noon-day at the zenith bends;
As night falls slow he sinks beneath the rim,
And where began his journey there it ends.

III.

Southward now riots wantonly the wind;
As quickly turning leaves the South behind;
Hither and thither bloweth, and about
Once more in self-same circuit whirleth blind.

IV.

Seaward the streams in myriad courses sweep,
And yet not full yon grim insatiate Deep,
For from its waves the misty waters rise,
And back once more unto their fountains leap.

V.

All things are wearisome: the dreary round
Of dull monotony no tongue can sound;
No ear can catch the tale complete of it,
Nor its full range can vision ever bound.

VI.

Is there, in sooth, of which we might make bold
To boast: "Lo, this is new"? Ah, nay, behold!
Already dim it waxed long, long ago
In the vast cycles that away have rolled.

VII.

To-day repeats what Yesterday has done,
And the same gamut will the Morrow run.
Yea, since prime Chaos quickened to the Word,
Chanced new in essence *nothing* under sun.

VIII.

What profits man that all his nerves he strain,
That to some task bend strength of heart and brain?
When all is told and closed the reckoning,
Come, prithee, count me his reputed gain.

IX.

The former men and manners are forgot,
Yea, and their very places know them not.
And thus and so the triumphs we would boast
A newer age from memory will blot.

X.

MYSELF was king in high Jerusalem,
But sought me rather how my crown to gem
With Wisdom's jewels, till in lore I passed
All who before me wore the diadem.

XI.

By wisdom, yea, all things to spell, methought
That under heaven's vast expanse are wrought;
Of madness and of folly sought the roots,—
Labored and grew in knowledge—all for what?

XII.

Alas, this prying restlessness of mind!
Vanity, idle catching at the wind—
A travail sore, some hidden purpose meant
To vex, perplex and yet delude mankind.

XIII.

Thou canst not mend what Nature made awry,
Marring in careless mood or wantonly;
The tiniest atom lacking whereso'er,
Futile thy deepest science to supply.

XIV.

Ah, Wisdom flows bitter at the springs!
The draught the deeper, deeper sorrow brings.
The wider vision widens but thy ken
To all the dreary sorriness of things.

XV.

"Yet better so," a voice within me cried,
"Better *so* mourn than like a fool confide;
As light excelleth darkness even so
Is folly from thy wisdom distant wide.

XVI.

"And tho', indeed, thine insight nothing skill
To spell the all-impenetrable Will
That filled our hearts with passion for the "Whole"
But gave not, ah! our longing souls to still.

XVII.

"Yet surely not to utter dearth designed
Th' insatiate yearning of the human mind;
The "All" may ever baffle our intent,
But in the "parts" some reason is divined.

XVIII.

"Which reason, made apparent to the wise,
Subservient, furthers all their life's emprise;
But missing which, your simple wight gropes round
And at the mercy of blind Fortune lies.

XIX.

"For know, there is a proper tide in things,
Which havenward the wary voy'ger wings;
Each travail hath occasion for success
And ev'ry purpose its own season brings.

XX.

"Time is to pluck and so is time to plant;
To speak is now and now let words be scant;
Refrain now from embrace—e'en mayest hate!
And now your love insatiate may pant.

XXI.

"Time is for birth and so is time to die;
And mirth and mourning in succession vie;
To lose is now and now is time to seek:
Let Wisdom take the tide,—not seek the *Why*."

XXII.

"Not so, alas, not so!" Experience wailed,
"Even for bread oft has the wise man failed;
The battle is not to the strong, nor yet
The swift as victors in the race are hailed.

XXIII.

"Hast thou not seen the slave in honor ride,
With princes menial-like on foot beside?
What! and not seen the fool in high place set,
And the meek sage in low estate abide?

XXIV.

"Indeed, what profits man that he is wise?
As dies your fool, so, too, behold he dies.
All past, forgot—shall he remem'brance claim,
When with the fool his dust amould'ring lies.

XXV.

"But all is good in its own time," say you.
Ah would, ah would, experience proved it true!
But, oh, the topsy-turviness of things
That baldly fronts the disenchanted view!

XXVI.

"For fain would mortals evil fate forestall,
But Time and Chance make playthings of them all.
Man trips as fishes caught in nets, or as
In snare of fowler birds unwary fall.

XXVII.

"The rounds of evil and oppression run
Daily beneath the all-beholding sun!
Strong the oppressors are and with strong arm
The weaker crush—yet comforter is none.

XXVIII.

"And lookest thou for judgment? Why, behold!
How evil prospers while it flaunts it bold.
The saint in sorrow ekes his living out,
And see your sinner in full comfort lolled!

XXIX.

"Ah, better silent with the senseless dead,
The fleeting span of life already sped;
Still better never to have been, and so
Not known the evils under heaven bred!"

XXX.

"Not so," in sterness spake the voice within,
"Rejoice we rather that upon the sin
No instant sentence falls, for were it so—
Where had the merit of your virtue been?

XXXI.

"But tho' the judgment be not clear, presume
Not self-deluded to play fast with doom.
Let evil prosper even hundred-fold,
Yet sin is shadow and the end—is gloom.

XXXII.

"But ah full surely for this present woe
Some after-good the righteous"— "Nay, not so,"
My clearer sense broke forth, "Men are as beasts,
Both are of dust and unto dust they go.

XXXIII.

"Yea, prithee, when the body stills its throes,
Unfettered then the spirit whither goes?
Man's soul—in sooth does it go upward and
Of beasts go downward—ah! who knows who knows?"

XXXIV.

AWAY with speculation little worth,
And come, my soul, acquaint thee now with mirth!
Drown skeptic reason in sweet wine and find
The sov'reign good in dreams and schemes of earth.

XXXV.

And so, all eager on a full quest bound,
I went of pleasures all the dizzy round,
But blindly not, for, keeping Wisdom still,
I ventured boldly all the deeps to sound.

XXXVI.

Alas, this, too, was vain and all for naught
And still eludes my grasp the joy I sought!
Laughter is madness,—so I found—and mirth
To which I gave me, well—this mirth yields what?

XXXVII.

For, lo, I built me palaces, essayed
Great works to lord me—arch and colonnade—
Orchards and vineyards planted for my peace—
And parks and gardens—wealth of flower and shade.

XXXVIII.

I had attendants—a vast retinue,
Maidens and men—born slaves I got me, too,
Possessed me wealth of cattle, great and small,—
My prestige growing as my fortune grew.

XXXIX.

I hoarded of silver and of gold a store,
Treasures of kings and provinces—yea, more
All things for pride or profit—these I got
Till I was mightier far than all before.

XL.

All that night tempt the wand'ring eye's desire,
Or might with longing the soft heart inspire—
All these I got and more—but, lo, alas!
Vexation, vanity my work entire.

XLI.

Yea, hateful is the labor I have wrought,
And hateful life with such vexation fraught.
Lo, I have labored well and wisely, yet
My work is grievous, aye, and all for naught.

XLII.

For all that with such wisdom and such care
I gathered, I must leave unto some heir;
And who can tell me whether he shall be
Or wise or foolish—should I not despair?

XLIII.

What profit hath the man for all his pains,
The eager tasking of his heart and brains?
Full are his days of dreams and anxious cares,
And sleep no comfort to his pillow deigns.

XLIV.

Oh direst evil! There is such an one
No second hath he—nay, no brother, son!
He schemes and hoards and hoarding schemes again
And straining, gaining, so his sands are run.

XLV.

Alas, for such endeavor, yea, alas!
With travail sore he bends him to amass
A pile—to leave it to some coxcomb son,
When he himself will to the shadow pass.

XLVI.

And what had been his pleasure save to note
The hoard increase and on the sight to gloat?
Who loveth gold finds no satiety,
For greed doth ever on itself but bloat!

XLVII.

Naked he came forth from his mother's womb,
And naked must he return unto the tomb.
Ah, bitter evil thus to gather stores,
And nothing take when falls the stroke of doom!

XLVIII.

Better, full better, is the handful peace
Than hoards that yield not to one's pain surcease—!
Our travail springs from sheerest rivalry,
Or envy that our neighbor's sums increase!

XLIX.

AH, poor deluded mortals that we are,
Why strive we ever with ourselves at war?
The Maker fashioned us with right intent,
But His good purpose our devices mar.

L.

Our hearts with folly and with madness rife,
Beat out in fever their brief span of life;
Ambition, envy, hatred, love contend
Till Death, the victor, quells the rebel strife.

LI.

Death, from whose campaign of, "Compelling Peace,"
Once mustered in, there never is release;
Whose discipline constrains those raw recruits,
Our passions, from their noisy brawlings cease.

LII.

Ah, wherefore strain we, wherefore plod and plan
Beyond the scope of life's uncertain span?
Contend we cannot 'gainst the Powers about,
For ah! we were but designated "Man."

LIII.

And circumscribed so, and with years so few,
As shadows passing in their vain ado,
Unknowing what shall chance thee at the end,
Thou weakling, what the course then, to pursue?

LIV.

Forego the scheming and make smooth the brow
And pucker not nor pule, complaining,—"How
That former days were better far than these,"
For, prithee, fool, what time is there but—Now!

LV.

And *now* enjoy thee, *now,* while lasts thy day.
Eat and be merry for it is comely,—yea
Nothing is better than to take full cheer;
From God the dower and shalt thou gainsay?

LVI.

Oh, sweet the light and pleasant to the eyes,
Yea, doubly precious, for how quick time flies!
Better is living dog than lion dead,
For while yet life is, hope not wholly dies!

LVII.

But once the grave and ah, all is forgot;
No more a role in life's engrossing plot.
The living know at least that they shall die
But for your dead—why even *this* is not.

LVIII.

The feast is made for laughter and the wine
To cheer thy heart, if ever shouldst repine.
Thy wealth will be the answer for all things,
And for defence some wisdom, too, be thine.

LIX.

But not *too* wise nor pious be, for why
Destroy thyself indeed thus wantonly?
    Nor yet be over wicked nor a fool,
Ah wherefore, wherefore all untimely die?

LX.

Of THIS, 'tis good that thou take hold—yea, and
From *that* see also thou withdraw not hand,
    For two are always better far than one,
And not soon broken is the threefold band.

LXI.

Anoint thy head with oil, and always white
Thy garments be as for life's feast bedight,
    And go thy way and eat thy bread in joy,
For God thy labor hath accepted quite!

LXII.

And live thou joyful with a loving mate
O, mortal favored to a high estate;
    But as for me—one man, indeed, I found,
A woman never—ah, the fitful fate!

LXIII.

Exultant be thou in thy vigorous might,
And in thy prime taste thou thy heart's delight.
    Follow thine eye's desire, but remember well
A righteous judge thy folly shall requite.

LXIV.

In days of gladness take thy proper fill,
But when comes sorrow, thoughtful be and still,
For God hath purposed them thus side by side
That man might turn him to the Higher Will.

LXV.

Yea, Him, thy Maker, rev'rence ere draw on
The evil days when pleasure shall be none,
When dimmed shall be the moon and silver stars
And quenched the ardor of the glowing sun.

LXVI.

Aye, and ere when thy trembling limbs collapse,
And nerveless age thy strength of muscle saps;
Before all toothless are thy bony gums,
And growing darkness thy dim eye enwraps.

LXVII.

Ere when thy tones in piping treble rise,
And nurture fails, nor dainties appetize;
When wakefulness the nightly pillow haunts,
And doting fear each danger magnifies.

LXVIII.

Before all broken is the golden bowl,
Or loosed the silver cord, when snaps the whole
Corporeal frame and dust resolves to dust
And back to God, the source, returns the soul.

LXIX.

Ah wait not! futile wisdom is—a bane!
And pleasures, sole pursued, but end in pain.
Live *now* thy life in joy, but innocent
Loving, yet fearing God—all else is vain!

HARRY W. ETTELSON.

Encyclopedic Department

ACKNOWLEDGMENT.

No thanks, however warm, are adequate to express the deep appreciation felt for the difficult work done on the Memorable Dates. I make this acknowledgment, nevertheless, conscious of its inadequacy, thanking the following gentlemen of the Hebrew Union College for their generous assistance in translating the Memorable Dates from the German into English, arranging them chronologically and indexing them alphabetically:—Messrs. Harry G. Friedman, Meyer Lovitch, Mendel Silber, Alfred Abrahams, Frederick Rauch, Louis Mendoza, Nathan Gordon, Max Reichler, Louis D. Gross, and Leo Hexter.—Ed.

Memorable Dates

Of Jewish History

By

Gotthard Deutsch

MEMORABLE DATES.

INTRODUCTION.

AMONG the various attempts to explain the complex phenomenon called Judaism, the historical explanation will necessarily be the least disputed. The definition of Judaism as a racial entity is strongly denied by a great many of its followers, as mistaking the accidental for the essential. The definition of Judaism as a creed is derided by a great number of men, who not only allow themselves to be called Jews in spite of their indifference or even hostility to the religious question, but even by such who zealously work for its future destiny. The definition, however, that the Jews of the present age are such by descent, that is, through historic forces, be those forces racial or religious, cannot be denied. The worst that may be said against it is that it is not complete.

This assertion is strongly supported by the fact that the interest in Jewish history is manifested in our age as it never has been before, by publication of documents, of tombstone inscriptions and monographs, by the founding of societies devoted to the furtherance of Jewish history, and by the frequent celebration of centenaries, or similar events, recalling important turning points in the history of our past. This consideration prompted me to collect memorable dates in Jewish history, arranged according to the days of the month. Such a collection will be, in the first instance, a brief list of memorable persons and facts in the history of Judaism. It will suggest occasionally the celebration

of centenaries, and so furnish for the home and for the school proper means for bringing home vividly the memories of the past. The first one to attempt such a task was the immortal founder of "Jewish science," Leopold Zunz, who, in 1871, published his "Die Monatstage des Kalenderjahres. Ein Andenken an Hingeschiedene." His list is based on the traditional piety, manifested in the celebration of the "Jahrzeit." He was followed by Kayserling, who, in 1892, published short sketches under the title "Gedenkblaetter hervorragender juedischer Persoenlichkeiten des 19ten Jahrhunderts." The index, arranged according to the dates, serves the purpose which I attempted with my list. Since that time a Hebrew pamphlet of the same character has appeared, but I have not seen it. Rabbi Heppner, in Koschmin, published a block calendar, with the memorable dates from Jewish history on every leaf, and various papers, like the Juedisches Volksblatt, of Breslau, the Juedisches Volksblatt, of Vienna, the Generalanzeiger fuer die gesammten Interessen des Judenthums, have published weekly such lists. My own collection, however, has been from various sources, and I always tried, wherever it was possible, to go back to the original source of information.

The difficulties of such an attempt are numerous. 1. The first important question is: Who shall be included, and who shall be excluded? Zunz' work was severely criticized by his colleague, F. Lebrecht, who pointed out amongst other things that Zunz had omitted the name of the mint-master, Veitel Heine Ephraim, who had founded the institute in which Zunz taught. (See Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums, 1872, p. 477 and 687. See, also, Geiger, Juedische Zeitschrift, Vol. X, p. 184.) From an American point of view it may be sufficient to know that Zunz omitted the names of Isaac Leeser, Juda Touro, and Mordecai Manuel Noah. An especial difficulty is presented in the question of including the names of people who have left Judaism. That they are not altogether to be omitted, Zunz has proven by the fact that he included the names of Heinrich Heine and M. G. Saphir. Graetz devoted, in the last volume of his history, a whole chapter to

Heine and Ludwig Boerne, and has also devoted a lengthy chapter to Benedict Spinoza. And no one who understands Jewish history will blame either Zunz or Graetz for it. Heine had learned to think as a Jew and to feel as a Jew, and, in spite of his conversion, he was made to suffer as a Jew.

2. Another difficulty arises from the differences in the reports. While Kayserling states that Leopold Dukes was born January 17, Meyer's Conversationslexikon has January 25. There is no positive way of finding out the truth, because the old Jewish congregation did not keep exact records of the birth of children born in their midst, and even an investigation of the papers reporting the celebration of Dukes' eightieth birthday, which, in my case would be exceedingly difficult, would not prove anything. While Kayserling reports that Akiba Eger was born Nov. 2, 1752, according to the biography written by his great grandson, Solomon Schreiber, he was born on Nov. 8, 1761. There is only a degree of more or less probability about one or the other of these dates. For the sake of curiosity I wish to add that in one and the same number of the Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums the death of David Kaufmann is reported differently on the cover and in the body of the paper.

3. A special difficulty is due to the fact that dates of Jewish history in former times were given according to the Jewish calendar. This not only increases the possibility of an error, but it makes it absolutely impossible to avoid a difference with regard to one day, the night being counted with the next day of the month, while up to midnight it belongs to the preceding day of the general calendar. Isaac M. Wise died March 26, 1900=Adar 25, 5600. Had he died an hour later, it would have been Adar 26, and any one not informed about the general date would calculate it to have been March 27. This is a small matter, although a difference in a ledger of one cent remains just as grievous as if it were a matter of $100,000. Another difficulty is the frequency of error in changing the date from the Jewish to the general calendar. Finally, error, and slip of the pen of the

author, add very much to the difficulty. Zunz, who has been celebrated for his accuracy in details, has any number of false statements, arising from such small matters, so he gives the death of David Halevi, the author of Ture Zahab, as having taken place January 31, 1667, instead of January 20, as Buber, in his Anshe Shem, has it, where the tombstone inscription is published. He has made mistakes which are due to carelessness, just as he reports the death of Eleazar Loew, talmudic author, correctly, as having taken place February 2, 1837, but he gives the name of Loewi, instead of Loew. He further reports the death of the geographer of Palestine, Israel Schwarz, as having taken place in Jerusalem, February 4, 1865. According to the tombstone inscription, published with the second edition of Schwarz' work, the death took place on the 9th of Sh'bat, February 5. But the important fact is that Israel Schwarz was not the author of the geography of Palestine, but its translator, and the nephew of the author, whose name was Joseph Schwarz. I have a special grievance. Under March 13, 1819, Zunz reports the death of Lazar Fried, rabbi of Konitz, who had written a Hebrew poetical work under the title "Conversation of the Servants of the Patriarch." Here every statement is false. The title of the book is not correctly translated, the book is not a poetical work, but a dry index to Talmudic literature. The name of the place where he lived is not Konitz, but Kanitz, and the name of the author is not Lazar Fried, but Jacob Eliezer Brunswick, who died, not in Konitz, but in Vienna, and, according to the tombstone inscription, which I copied from his grave, on the first day of Pesach, 1729. I happen to take particular interest in the man, because he was my great-grandfather's great-grandfather. Otherwise the error would not have been detected. Of course, it is a very small matter to a great many people who compiled an index to talmudic literature, but it shows that information on such points is unreliable, that inaccuracies are bound to creep into every book, and that, therefore, whatever shortcomings may be found in my attempt will be judged leniently.

This list originally appeared in Die Deborah, which I published as a monthly, 1901 and 1902. I have since that time revised and completed it. Nevertheless, I am conscious that it will bear further revision, and I shall be grateful to every one who will call my attention to errors or omissions. At the same time I have a pleasant duty to perform, in expressing my thanks to Mr. Ephraim Frisch, the editor of the Hebrew Union College Annual, and to his co-workers, who have assisted me in translating the list from German into English, and in indexing it.

MEMORABLE DATES.

I.

JANUARY.

1.

1702. Jair Chayim Bacharach, rabbi at Worms, d.
1804.—Philanthropin (Jewish high-school) Frankfort a. M. founded.
1807.—Asher Sammter, author of works on Jewish science, Dernburg, b.
1834.—Ludovic Halévy, French novelist, b.
1837.—Earthquake at Safed and Tiberias; two thousand people killed.
1849.—William Goldziher, oculist, professor, Kopestny, b.
1869.—Solomon Ullmann, rabbi and author, Mako, d.

2.

1661.—Mendel Krochmal, rabbi and Talmudic author, Nikolsburg, d.
1822.—Bernhard Felsenthal, American reform rabbi, b.
1822.—Persecution at Lauda and Bischofsheim.
1857.—Paul Wolf, councillor, physician, champion of the emancipation of the Jews, Dresden, d.
1902.—Henry Lumley, author and inventor, London, d.

3.

1807.—Samuel Meyer, rabbi at Hechingen, author of work on Jewish law, b.
1846.—Samuel Löb Goldenberg, editor of Kerem Chemed, d.
1852.—Solomon Eger, son of Akiba Eger, chief rabbi of Posen, d.
1858.—Rachel Felix, the famous actress, Paris, d.
1879.—Solomon Netter, Hebrew publisher, Vienna, d.

4.

1780.—Samson Wolf Rosenfeld, one of the first German preachers, b.
1786.—Moses Mendelssohn, d.
1811.—Benjamin Samuel Phillips, Lord Mayor of London, b.
1822.—Eugenia Pavia Gentilomo Fortis, Italian poetess, b.
1833.—Jos. H. Dünner, chief rabbi of Amsterdam, Cracow, b.
1850.—Jos. Frey, converted Jewish missionary, Pontiac, d.
1852.—Marco Samuel Ghirondi, rabbi and author, Padua, d.
1893.—Meir Panigel, chief rabbi at Jerusalem, d.

5.

1796.—Joseph Salvador, author of a work on Mosaic institutions, b.
1823.—Emanuel Wessely, son of Hartwig Wessely, Hamburg, d.
1846.—Arsène Darmestetter, French philologist, b.
1878.—Carl Weil, court councillor at Vienna, a defender of Jewish rights, d.
1884.—Edward Lasker, German statesman, New York, d.
1886.—Lazarus Adler, rabbi at Kassel, d.
1888.—Henri Herz, French pianist, d.
1895.—Captain Dreyfus, publicly degraded.
1903.—Julie Baroness Cohn-Oppenheim, philanthropist, d.

6.

1632.—Abraham Chayim Shor, Talmudic author, Lemberg, d.
1663.—Simon Luzzatto, rabbi and author, Venice, d.

1806.—Henri Herz, pianist, Vienna, b.
1870.—Daniel Bender, author, Berlin, d.
1871.—Jacob Emil Pereire, financier, Paris, d.
1879.—Benjamin Artom, chacham of the Portuguese congregation, London, d.
1890.—Philipp Joachimsen, prominent in New York congregational affairs, d.
1902.—Jean de Block, advocate of universal peace, convert, Warsaw, d.
1903.—Michael Levi Rodkinson, translator of Talmud into English, New York, d.

7.

470.—Huna Mari, the exilarch, and rabbi Meshereshia, executed.
1684.—Baruch Nehemiah de Castro, a famous physician at Hamburg, d.
1834.—Philipp Reis, inventor of a telephone, Gelnhausen, b.
1896.—Sir Julian Goldsmid, M. P., d.
1902.—Adolph Moses, rabbi and author, Louisville, d.

8.

1830.—Hans Bülow, a famous pianist and anti-semite, b.
1846.—Abraham Vita Reggio, rabbi and author, Görz, d.
1862.—Samuel Cahen, translator of Bible into French, Paris, d.
1887.—Abraham Samuel Diskin, rabbinical author, Wilkowisk, d.
1890.—Seligmann Heller, poet and translator, Vienna, d.

9.

1812.—Liebmann Adler, rabbi and author, Stadt Lengsfeld, b.
1903.—Lord Pirbright (Baron Henry de Worms), English statesman, convert, London, d.

10.

1481.—Diego de Susan, Seville, executed by Inquisition.

1728.—David Nieto, chacham in London and philosophical writer, d.
1729.—David Hakohen d'Azevedo, chief rabbi of Amsterdam, d.
1783.—Ludwig L. Jacobson, medical author, Copenhagen, b.
1784.—Poll tax abolished in Alsace.
1801.—Isaac Ben Jacob, bibliographer, Wilna, b.
1884.—Theodore Ratisbonne, convert and the founder of a monastic order, d.,
1890.—Ignadtz von Döllinger, Catholic theologian and advocate of Judaism, d.

11.

1690.—Hillel ben Naphtali Herz, Talmudic author, Zolkiev, d.
1712.—Moses Rothenburg, rabbi, Altona, d.
1771.—The Marquis d' Argens, alleged protector of Mendelssohn and author of "Lettres Juives," d.
1805.—Lelio della Torre, professor at Rabbinical Seminary in Padua, Asti, b.
1808.—Abraham Mapu, neo-Hebraic novelist, Kovno, b.
1846.—Johann Jacob Sachs, distinguished physician, Nordhausen, d.
1893.—S. R. Edelmann, Hebrew essayist, d.
1893.—Daniel Spitzer, humorist, Vienna, d.
1895.—Jacob Gottstein, writer on medical subjects, Breslau, d.

12.

1812.—Poll tax abolished in Cur-Hessen.
1818.—Ludwig Traube, medical professor, Ratibor, b.
1833.—Eugene Dühring, anti-semitic author, Berlin, b.
1842.—W. T. Krug, professor at Leipzig and advocate of Judaism, d.
1850.—William Bacher, professor at Budapest, b.
1878.—Joseph Baron of Günzburg, Russian financier, Paris, d.
1885.—Jos. Rosen, rabbi at Slonim and Talmudic author, d.

13.

1778.—Isaac Lyon Godsmid, champion of the rights of the Jews, London, b.
1809.—Liberal laws on condition of Jews promulgated in grand-duchy of Baden.
1817.—Lazarus Landshuth, Jewish historian, Lissa, b.
1871.—Adolph Ludwig Cohen, historian, convert, Göttingen, d.
1881.—Samuel Freund, orthodox rabbi and author, Prague, d.
1888.—Isaac Goldmann, publisher, formerly teacher in a rabbinical seminary at Warsaw, d.
1891.—Anton Rée, member of the Reichstag, Hamburg, d.
1904.—Leo N. Levi, communal worker, New York, d.

14.

1664.—J. J. Schudt, Christian author on Judaism, b.
1711.—Fire in the Frankfort Jewish quarter.
1797.—Gideon Brecher, translator of Cusari, b.
1798.—Isaac da Costa, Dutch poet, Amsterdam, b.
1802.—Leon Halévy, French author, b.
1821.—Solomon Herman Mosenthal, German dramatical poet, b.
1874.—Philipp Reis, inventor of a telephone apparatus, d.
1884.—I. Chronik, an American reform-rabbi, Berlin, d.
1901.—David Castelli, Orientalist, Florence, d.
1901.—Herman Holdheim, editor, son of Sam. Holdheim, Berlin, d.
1904.—George Lewis Lyon, Jewish journalist, London, d.

15.

1608.—Feiwel Duschenes, Talmudic author, Prague, d.
1719.—Naphtali Hakohen, formerly rabbi at Frankfort, Constantinople, d.
1803.—N. M. Adler, chief rabbi at London, Hanover, b.
1896.—Selig Goldschmidt, philanthropist, Frankfort a. M.

16.

1711.—Jos. Jacob Raabe, Translator of Mishna, b.
1756.—Jacob Joshua, rabbi at Frankfort, and author of "Pene Yehoshua," d.
1769.—Isaac Zerachjah Azulai, Jerusalem, father of the famous bibliographer, d.
1793.—Chr. Geo. Nath. David, convert, Danish statesman, b.
1796.—Heyman Arnheim, Bible translator, Wongrowitz, b.
1802.—Fr. Jul. Stahl, convert, leader of the conservatives, b.
1856.—Isaac Ashkenazi, painter, Drissa, Russia, b.
1882.—Ludwig Wihl, German poet, Brussels, d.
1886.—Privy councillor Benj. von Kaulla, financier, Stuttgart, d.
1889.—Hirsch Rabbinowitz, writer on mathematics, St. Petersburg, d.
1891.—Isaac Aaron Oettinger, Lemberg, d.

17.

1658.—Samson, Wertheimer, financier and philanthropist, Worms, b.
1670.—Raphael Levy, burnt in Metz, on false accusation.
1747.—Marcus Herz, physician and philosopher, b.
1789.—Aug. Wilh. Neander (David Mendel), church historian, b.
1808.—Moritz Rappaport, poet, b.
1808.—Solomon Steinhard, teacher and author, Waldorf, b.
1841.—Sigmund Hinrichsen, statesman, Hamburg, b.
1853.—Sam Iesi, engraver, Florence, d.
1869.—David Hazan, chief rabbi at Jerusalem, d.
1881.—Theo. Hirsch, convert, historian and professor at Greifswald, d.
1882.—Simon Szanto, editor of Neuzeit, d.

18.

1798.—Daniel L. Lessman, German poet, convert, b.
1821.—Theodore Goldstuecker, Sanscritist, Königsberg, b.

1836.—Hananel Neppi, rabbi and Hebrew writer, Cento, d.
1854.—Judah Touro, famous American philanthropist, d.
1890.—Solomon Sulzer, composer of synagogue music, Vienna, d.
1891.—Joseph Abenheim, musician, Stuttgart, d.
1903.—Adolf de Blowitz (Opper), journalist, convert, Paris, d.
1903.—Sir Joseph Sebag Montefiore, communal worker, Ramsgate, d.

19.

1700.—Jacob Kann, philanthropist, Frankfort a. M., d.
1803.—Marcus Herz, physician and philosopher, Berlin, d.
1808.—Israel von Hönigsberg, Vienna manufacturer, d.
1817.—Isaac Wolffson, member of Reichstag, Hamburg, b.
1848.—Isaac d'Israeli, convert, author, and father of Lord Beaconfield, d.
1858.—L. A. Weiss, poet, b.
1888.—Adolf Ehrentheil, Horic, Bohemia, rabbi and author, d.

20.

1205.—Joseph ibn Shoshan, founder of synagogue, Toledo, d.
1702.—Jost Liebmann, court Jew, Berlin, d.
1707.—Leopold, Count Kollonitsch, Primas of Hungary, caused exile of Jews from Vienna, Vienna, d.
1800.—Moritz Oppenheim, painter, b.
1803.—Edward Munk, philologist, Glogau, b.
1853.—Jonathan Pereira, medical author, London, d.
1860.—Wilh. Wertheim, physicist, Vienna, d.
1868.—L. Schott, preacher, Brühl, d.

21.

1492.—Publication of edict expelling Jews from Sicily.
1527.—Jacob von Hochstraten, persecutor of rabbinical literature, d.

1868.—Ludwig Jacobowski, German poet, Strelno, b.
1880.—Theodor Harbruecker, writer on Arabic-Jewish philosophy, d.
1890.—Nathan M. Adler, chief rabbi of London, d.

22.

1823.—Hermann Jelinek, victim of despotism, b.
1844.—Carl Fischer, censor of rabbinical literature, Prague, d.
1864.—Baruch Auerbach, founder of orphan asylum, Berlin, d.
1875.—Ferdinand Hitzig, famous exegete, d.
1880.—Abraham Ashkenazi, chief rabbi of Jerusalem, d.
1883.—Gustav Doré, illustrator of Bible, d.
1893.—David Cassel, historian, Berlin, d.
1898.—Marco Treves, architect, Florence, d.

23.

1167.—Abraham ibn Ezra, exegete, d.
1334.—Isaac ben Pethachja, martyr, Mecklenburg, executed.
1639.—Frederick Meldola da Silva, executed with ten other Maranos at Lima.
1829.—Sol. von Haber, banker, Karlsruhe, d.
1860.—S. Guensberg, preacher in Berlin, Breslau, d.
1893.—Edward Solomons, composer, London, d.
1904.—Flaminio Servi, rabbi, author, Casale, d.

24.

1430.—Nine Jews killed at Aix.
1733.—Jacob Reischer, rabbi at Metz, d.
1789.—Jacob Marx, medical writer, Hanover, d.
1814.—John W. Colenso, Anglican bishop and Bible critic, b.
1828.—Ferdinand Cohn, famous botanist, Breslau, b.
1873.—Kaid Nissim Samama, philanthropist, Leghorn, d.
1900.—Isaac Artom, first Jewish Senator in Kingdom of Italy, Rome, d.

25.

1138.—Pope Anaklet II., great-grandson of a Jew, d.
1853.—Louis Levy, poet, Berlin, d.
1854.—Filosseno Luzzatto, talented son of S. D. Luzzatto, Padua, d.
1875.—Israel Schwarz, rabbi and author, Cologne, d.
1899.—Adolph D'Ennery, prolific dramatist, Paris, d.
1901.—Wilhelm von Rothschild, financier, orthodox, Talmudic scholar, Frankfort on M., d.
1904.—Philip Brunner, pedagogic writer, Vienna, d.

26.

1761—Judah Nabon, rabbi, Jerusalem, d.
1840.—Lewis Way, pleader for the Russian Jews, d.
1851.—Leon Saraval, bibliophile, Trieste, d.
1902.—Andrew B. Davidson, Christian Hebraist, Edinburgh, d.

27.

1806.—Wilhelm Freund, philologist and champion of Jewish emancipation, Kempen, b.
1821.—Abraham Schmiedel, rabbi and theological author, b.
1827.—Joseph Israels, Dutch painter, b.
1835.—Leopold von Sacher-Masoch, ghetto poet, Lemberg, b.
1842.—Reform synagogue opened in London.
1846.—Jonas Fränkel, philanthropist, Breslau, d.
1847.—Max Klein, sculptor, Göncz, Hungary, b.
1863.—Edward Robinson, geographer of Palestine, New York, d.
1874.—M. A. Alexander, Australian politician, Sydney, d.
1880.—Jacques Herz, pianist, Paris, d.

28.

1197.—Slaughter of Jews in Neuss.
1549.—Elijah Levita, grammarian, Padua, d.

1573.—Lippold executed in Berlin on false suspicion.
1591.—Joseph ben Mordecai Hakohen, Talmudical writer, Cracow, d.
1883.—Anselm Solomon von Rothschild, head of the Vienna House, b.
1809.—Theodor Benfey, orientalist and convert, b.
1842.—Emanuel Deutz, grand rabbi, Paris, d.
1884.—Gutmann Klemperer, biographer of Jonathan Eybeschütz Tabor, d.
1903.—David Raynal, French statesman, Paris, d.
1904.—Karl Emil Franzos, novelist, Berlin, d.

29.

1737.—Alexander Shor, Talmudic author, Zolkiew, d.
1817.—Abraham Furtado, president of the assembly of Jewish notables, Paris, d.
1852.—F. H. Cowen, composer, Jamaica, b.
1882.—Alfred von Henikstein, convert, Austrian general, d.
1892.—Liebmann Adler, rabbi, Chicago, d.
1894.—Joshua Rokeach, wonder rabbi of Bielcza, d.
1897.—Edward Jacobson, humorist, Berlin, d.

30.

1792.—"Gesellschaft der Freunde" founded, Berlin.
1827.—Wilhelm Herzberg, Jewish author, b.
1841.—Moses Büdinger, author of religious text-book, Kassel, d.
1863.—Phineas Mendel Heilprin, anti-reform writer, Washington, d.
1873.—Jacques Isaac Altaras, philanthropist and a large ship-owner, Aix, d.
1874.—Theodor Cerfberr, French colonel, president of consistory, d.
1879.—Abraham Treuenfels, rabbi and author, Stettin, d.

1879.—Michael Levy, Hebraist and owner of industries, Inowrazlaw, d.
1901.—Ephraim Rothschild, manufacturer and philanthropist, Stadtoldendorf, d.

31.

1830.—Chr. Fr. Rühs, professor and anti-semitic writer, d.
1864.—Fischel Arnheim, member of Bavarian diet, Baireuth, d.
1864.—Michael Sachs, preacher and writer, Berlin, d.
1884.—Siegfried Goldschmidt, professor, Strassburg, d.
1887.—Asher Sammter, author of works on Jewish science, Berlin, d.
1894.—Moritz Abraham Stern, mathematician, professor, Göttingen, d.
1903.—Martin Berendt, author, Berlin, d.

II.

FEBRUARY.

1.

1539.—Expulsion of Jews from Tyrnau, Hungary.
1784.—Elijah Israel, rabbi and Talmudic author, Alexandria, d.
1862.—Moses Gutmann, translator of the Apocrypha, Redwitz, d.
1882.—"London Mansion House" meeting protests against the persecution of Jews in Russia.
1885.—Peter Smolensky, Hebrew novelist, Meran, d.
1902.—Solomon Jadassohn, musical writer, d.

2.

1684.—Chayim Bochner, Hebrew author, Fürth, d.
1816.—Jacob Herz, medical professor at Erlangen, Baireuth, b.
1827.—Solomon Buber, editor of Midrashim, Lemberg, b.
1836.—Jacob Caro, historian, professor at Breslau, b.
1837.—Eleazar Löw, Talmudic author, Szanto, d.
1837.—Moses Kunitzer, champion of the reform movement, Budapest, d.
1852.—Abbé Franz Liebermann, convert, d.
1885.—Jacob Steinhart, rabbi, Arad, d.
1894.—Marco Mortara, rabbi, Mantua, d.
1901.—Genrich A. Schapiro, professor of medicine, St. Petersburg, d.

3.

1762.—Solomon Herschell, chief rabbi of London, London, b.
1807.—Synhedrin opened in Paris.

1810.—Ludwig August Frankl, German poet, b.
1826.—Simon Spitzer, mathematician, Vienna, b.
1841.—M. H. Landauer, author on Kabbalah, Kappel, d.
1842.—Abraham Stern, inventor of a calculating machine, Warsaw, d.
1866.—Joseph Bach, first modern preacher in Hungary, Budapest, d.
1871.—Joseph Eötvős, champion of emancipation in Hungary, d.
1893.—Baron Joseph Treves de Bonfili, philanthropist, Padua, d.

4.

1738.—Süss Oppenheimer, a financier at Wurtemberg, executed.
1815.—Sol. Fiorentino, Italian poet, Florence, d.
1842.—George Brandes, Danish and German essayist, b.
1860.—Moses Maimon, painter, Wolkowyshski, b.
1865.—Joseph Schwarz, geographer of Palestine, Jerusalem, d.
1886.—Nathan von Kallir, Austrian politician, d.
1896.—Heinrich Popper, Austrian politician, d.
1901.—Jacob Plaut, philanthropist, Nizza, d.
1902.—Hermann Wolf, musical writer, convert, d.

5.

1678.—Joseph Shammash, author of the Worms' folk-lore stories, d.
1718.—Hadrian Reland, the founder of geography of Palestine, d.
1801.—Sol. Herxheimer, commentator of the Bible, b.
1823.—John Ant. Llorente, the historian of the Inquisition, d.
1838.—Joshua van Oven, physician and preacher in Liverpool, d.
1864.—Moriz Veit, advocate of Judaism and writer, Berlin, d.
1883.—Jon. Raph. Bischoffsheim, banker and politician, Brussels, d.
1885.—Edward Salomon, physician and songwriter, Bromberg, d.
1889.—Emanuel F. Veneziani, private secretary of Baron Hirsch, Paris, d.

1891.—Nehemiah Brüll, Jewish scholar, Frankfort a. M., d.
1900.—Baron Ignazio Weiss Weill, financier, Turin, d.

6.

1867.—Sol. Munk, the Arabic scholar, Paris, d.
1874.—Meyer Amschel de Rothschild, member of English Parliament, d.
1894.—Theodor Billroth, a famous surgeon, known through his position in the anti-semitic movement, d.
1900.—Elijah Benamozegh, apologist of Kabbalah, Leghorn, d.

7.

1413.—The religious disputation begun at Tortosa.
1767.—Saul Ascher, member of the Berlin Culture Society, b.
1878.—Pius IX., famous for the syllabus and the Mortara Case, d.
1895.—Eugene Benj. Fischel, painter, Paris, d.

8.

1663.—Shabbetai Cohen, "Schach," Holleschau, d.
1795.—M. G. Saphir, the Vienna humorist, b.
1831.—Law passed ordering support in France of the Jewish cult.
1867.—Joachim Basewi, jurist, Milan, d.
1874.—Rachel Mayer, authoress of Jewish novels, d.
1882.—Berthold Auerbach, German poet, d.
1886.—Ivan Aksakov, the intellectual originator of Jewish persecution in Russia, d.
1889.—Anna Maria Goldsmid, authoress, London, d.
1896.—Rudolf Benedict, chemist, Vienna, d.

9.

1815.—Isaac Hirsch Weiss, historian of Talmud, Gross-Meseritsch, b.
1873.—Julius Fürst, bibliographer, Leipzig, d.

1880.—Israel Salant (called also Lipkin), eminent Talmudist, Koenigsberg, d.

10.

1660.—Saul Morteira, rabbi in Amsterdam, d.
1797.—Gumpel Löwisohn, professor in Upsala, Hamburg, d.
1835.—Moses Hochheimer, Hebrew grammarian, Ansbach, d.
1868.—Chayim Palaggi, rabbi and prolific Talmudic author, Smyrna, d.
1888.—Ferdinand Eberstadt, Burgomaster, Worms, d.

11.

1591.—Moses Luria, rabbi, Worms, d.
1689.—Moses Galante, Talmudic author, Jerusalem, d.
1772.—Lewis Way, champion of the Russian Jews, b.
1795.—Society "Felix Libertate" for emancipation founded, Amsterdam.
1802.—Joel Löwe, one of the "Biurists," Breslau, d.
1812.—Jos. David Sinzheim, president of Synhedrin, Paris, d.
1818.—David Cassel, Jewish historian, Glogau, b.
1823.—Philip Yung, author of Jewish biographies, Leipzig, d.
1842.—Ludwig Barnay, famous actor, Pest, b.
1857.—Meyer Hirsch, famous mathematician, Berlin, d.
1858.—Sol. Blogg, Jewish writer, Hanover, d.

12.

1795.—Johann Jacob Rabe, translator of Mishna, d.
1815.—Hermann Gödsche, anti-semitic novelist, Trachenberg, b.
1837.—Ludwig Börne, German author, Paris, d.
1883.—Meyer Magnus, town councillor, Berlin, d.
1894.—Hanns von Bülow, pianist and anti-semite, d.

13.

1810.—Naphtali Frankfurter, preacher in Hamburg, b.
1840.—The Anti-Jewish Usury Law at Saxony, repealed.

1875.—Zacharias Frankel, President of Rabbinical Seminary, Breslau, d.
1883.—Richard Wagner, composer, author of "Judenthum in der Musik," d.
1884.—Aaron Bernstein, originator of the ghetto novel, d.
1898.—Paul Kayser, convert, director of German colonial administration, d.

14.

1349.—Massacre of Jews in Strassburg.
1670.—Expulsion of Jews from Vienna.
1692.—Michel Speier, religious author in Frankfurt-on-M., d.
1722.—J. J. Schudt, author of "Jüdische Merkwürdigkeiten," d.
1849.—Meir Josephs, author of a Hebrew-English lexicon, London, d.
1864.—Israel Zangwill, English novelist, London, b.
1877.—Colombo Coen, publisher, Venice, d.

15.

1515.—Victor von Karben, convert and reviler of Judaism, d.
1642.—Sarah Copia Sullam, poetess, Venice, d.
1780.—Karl Asser, Dutch jurist, Amsterdam, d.
1870.—Berisch Meisels, rabbi of Warsaw, d.
1875.—Eljakim Carmoly, Jewish author, Frankfort-on-M., d.
1884.—Joseph Bergl, physician, author of a history of the Jews in Hungary, d.

16.

1616.—Elijah Montalto, body physician of Queen Maria de Medici, d.
1855.—Raphael Fürstenthal, Jewish author, Breslau, d.
1870.—Political equality given to Jews in Sweden.
1883.—Commission appointed to revise the laws in Russia with regard to Jews.
1885.—Elim Henry d'Avigdor, Zionist, London, d.

17.

1672.—Congregation of Dessau founded.
1693.—Gerson Ashkenasi, rabbi in Metz, d.
1785.—Nachman Krochmal, "the Galician Zunz," Brody, d.
1811.—Jehuda Löb Bensew, Hebrew pedagogic author, Vienna, d.
1819.—Philipp Jaffe, first Jewish professor of History in Germany, b.
1852.—Micah Joseph Lebensohn, Hebrew poet, Wilna, d.
1856.—Heinrich Heine, Paris, d.
1860.—Isaac Bär Löwinsohn, "the Russian Mendelssohn," Krementz, d.
1877.—Sol. Hermann Mosenthal, dramatist and novelist, Vienna, d.
1903.—Ignaz von Wechselmann, architect, philanthropist, Budapest, d.

18.

1546.—Martin Luther, reformer, successively friend and enemy of the Jews, d.
1816.—Maurice Block, French political economist, b.
1827.—Emil Brugsch Pasha, Egyptologist, b.
1839.—Zadok Kahn, chief rabbi of France, b.
1842.—Carl Rehfuss, preacher in Heidelberg, d.
1850.—Ernst Bernheim, convert, historian, Hamburg, b.
1856.—Hatti Humayun, Turkish law granting the Jew equality with the Mohammedan promulgated.
1903.—Moses Mielziner, rabbinical author, Cincinnati, d.

19.

1701.—Dan'l Levi de Barrios, Jewish historian, Amsterdam, d.
1758.—Peter Beer, pedagogical writer, Newbydshow, b.
1811.—David Friedrichsfeld, author, advocate of Jewish rights, Amsterdam, d.
1835.—Moritz Güdemann, chief rabbi at Vienna, Hildesheim, b.
1873.—Joseph Lehmann, editor and communal worker, Berlin, d.
1893.—Gerson von Bleichröder, German financier, d.

20.

1667.—David Halevi, author of "Ture Zahab," d.
1740.—Jacob Hakohen Poppers, rabbi at Frankfort-on-M., d.
1780.—Emperor Joseph II., "Lover of men," and benefactor of the Jews, d.
1832.—S. Rosenstein, medical professor at Leyden, Berlin, b.
1845.—Shalom Cohen, Hebrew writer, Hamburg, d.
1888.—Elieser Zebi Zweifel, Hebrew writer, d.

21.

1677.—Baruch Spinoza, philosopher at The Hague, d.
1683.—Jos. Chr. Wolf, Hebrew bibliographer, Wernigerode, b.
1694.—Lazarus Abeles, twelve years old, died in Prague, made a martyr of Christianity by the Jesuits.
1838.—Sylvester de Sacy, famous Orientalist in Paris, d.
1861.—Hayim Nissim Abulafia, chief rabbi at Jerusalem, d.
1801.—H. L. Fleischer, famous Orientalist in Leipzig, b.
1892.—Prohibition of "Schechita," published in Kingdom of Saxony.

22.

1455.—Johann Reuchlin, defender of Talmud, b.
1793.—Isaac Marcus Jost, Jewish historian, Bernburg, b.
1828.—Micah Joseph Lebensohn, Hebrew poet, Wilna (see Feb. 17), b.
1854.—Abraham Neuda, rabbi and author in Loschitz, Moravia, d.
1872.—M. A. Levy, Jewish archeologist, Breslau, d.
1889.—Gabriel Salvador, French captain of artillery, d.

23.

1812.—Fischel Arnheim, Bavarian statesman, Baireuth, b.
1813.—Franz Delitzsch, noble advocate of Judaism, Leipzig, b.
1820.—David Kalisch, German humorist, Breslau, b.
1824.—Sir George Jessel, prominent jurist, London, b.

1881.—Menahem Katz, leader of Hungary orthodoxy, rabbi in Deutsch-Kreutz, d.
1889.—Isidor Soyka, bacteriologist, professor at Prague, d.
1902.—Max Büdinger, historian, convert, Vienna, d.
1904.—Friederike Kempner, German authoress, near Breslau, d.

24.

1688.—Moses Gideon Abudiente, Hebrew writer, Hamburg, d.
1882.—Moritz Oppenheim, painter, Frankfurt-on-M., d.
1884.—Benj. Ullmann, painter, Paris, d.
1902.—Pinkus Neustadt, orthodox rabbi and author, Breslau, d.

25.

1743.—Immanuel Chai Richi, Hebrew writer murdered not far from Modena.
1784.—Gerson Levy, French Reform writer, Metz, b.
1842.—Perez Smolensky, Hebrew poet, Monastyrshina, b.
1862.—Emanuel Hecht, teacher and author at Hopstätten, d.
1870.—Henrik Hertz, Danish writer, Copenhagen, d.
1897.—Michael Bernays, convert, historian of literature, son of Chacham, d.
1898.—Emil Lehman, a warm advocate of Judaism, Dresden, d.

26.

1832.—Wolf Heidenheim, grammarian, editor, Rödelheim, d.
1860.—Michael Hess, Jewish author, Frankfort-on-M., d.
1888.—Michael Klapp, dramatist, Vienna, d.

27.

1717.—Johann David Michaelis, learned Orientalist, b.
1821.—Paulus (Selig) Cassel, convert, archeologist, Glogan, b.
1823.—S. H. Burgheim, the first Jew who received a degree in Leipzig, d.
1823.—Ernest Renan, historian of Israel, b.

1831.—Adolph Beer, Austrian historian and politician, convert, Prossintz, b.
1860.—Meir Jacob Ginzberg, Hebrew writer, Wilna, d.
1874.—Justus Olshausen, grammarian and exegete, d.
1883.—Julius Stern, musician, d.
1892.—Jacob Levy, author of a Talmudic dictionary, Breslau, d.
1892.—Moritz Deutsch, cantor and composer of synagogue music, Breslau, d.
1895.—Sigmund Haber, humorist, author, Berlin, d.
1898.—H. S. Goldschmidt, President of the "Alliance Israelite," d.

28.

1659.—Jean Morin, French Bible critic, d.
1799.—Ignaz von Döllinger, advocate of Judaism, b.
1812.—Berthold Auerbach, German novelist, b.
1820.—Rachel Felix, French actress, b.
1829.—Wolf Breidenbach, advocate of Jewish emancipation, Offenbach, d.
1832.—Sabatja Wolf, author, Berlin, d.
1832.—Moritz Wahrmann, distinguished Hungarian politician, b.
1838.—Maurice Levy, mathematician, b.
1841.—Abraham Bing, rabbi, Würzburg, d.
1855.—Nicholas I., Czar of Russia, persecutor of the Jews, d.
1870.—"Deutsch-Israelitischer Gemeindebund" founded.
1898.—Baron Joseph Morpurgo, philanthropist and member of the Austrian Parliament, Triest, d.
1902.—Moses Salzer, Weimar Landesrabbiner, Stadt-Lengsfeld, d.

III.

MARCH.

1.

1349.—Massacre at Worms. 480 Jews killed.
1781.—Chr. Hr. Rühs, anti-semitic libelist, b.
1803.—Sol. Frensdorff, editor of the Massorah, b.
1806.—Chayim Joseph David Azulai, prolific Talmudic author, Leghorn, d.
1811.—Wolff Landau, chief rabbi, Dresden, b.
1837.—George Ebers, Egyptologist and novelist, of Jewish origin, b.
1897.—Seligmann Baer, author on Massora, Mosbach, d.
1899.—Lord Farrar Herschell, English statesman, son of a baptized Jewish missionary, d.

2.

1336.—Joseph Sason, physician and astronomer, Toledo, d.
1753.—Berusch Eskeles, rabbi and banker, Vienna, d.
1847.—C. H. Hamberger, historian of Jewish literature, Leipzig, d.
1847.—Immanuel Wohlwill (Wolf), director of the Jacobson school at Seesen, d.
1892.—Otto Glagau, anti-semitic author, Berlin, d.
1904.—Gottlieb Schnapper, political economist, Frankfort-on-M., d.
1904.—Moritz Rahmer, rabbi and author, Magdeburg, d.

3.

1619.—Ephraim Luntschütz, preacher in Prague, d.
1814.—Charles Salaman, pianist and composer, London, b.

1851.—J. Barth, Orientalist, professor at Berlin, b.
1882.—Ludwig Kalisch, humorist, Paris, d.
1889.—Julius Landsberger, rabbi and author, Darmstadt, d.

4.

1814.—Sol. Pappenheim, Hebrew poet, Breslau, d.
1849.—Freedom of religion proclaimed in Austria.
1875.—Joseph Saul Nathansohn, rabbi and Talmudic author, Lemberg, d.
1890.—Franz Delitzsch, Hebraist and advocate of the Jews, Leipzig, d.
1894.—Joseph Perles, rabbi and author, Munich, d.

5.

1328.—Many Jews killed at Estella in the Shepherd's Insurrection.
1853.—Hirsch Sommerhausen, pedagogue and author, Brussels, d.
1902.—Leonard Lewisohn, American philanthropist, London, d.

6.

1328.—Jewish massacre in Navarre.
1789.—Aryeh Löb, son of Pene Jehoshua, rabbi, Hanover, d.
1791.—David Paul Drach, convert and Catholic priest, b.
1816.—Expulsion of the Jews from Lübeck.
1820.—Cäcilie Furtado Heine, benefactress, b.
1872.—Theodor Goldstücker, Sanscritist, London, d.
1882.—Ephraim Isr. Blücher, author of an Aramaic grammar, d
1894.—Abraham Baer, cantor and composer, Gothenburg, d.
1896.—Isaac Elchanan Spector, rabbi in Kovno, d.
1900.—Simon Hurwitz, rabbi and Talmudic author, Leipzig, d.

7.

1612.—Mordecai Jafe, author of "Lebush," Posen, d.
1802.—Noah Chayim Hirsch, Berlin, rabbi at Altona, d.

1804.—British and Foreign Bible Society founded.
1818.—David Morgenstern, member of the Bavarian diet, b.
1833.—Rahel (Varnhagen) Levin, Berlin, b.
1850.—Moritz August Wessely, physician and medical writer, Nordhausen, d.
1860.—Guido Adler, musical author, b.
1860.—Joseph Almanzi, bibliophile and Hebrew poet, Triest, d.
1902.—Isidore Cahen, editor of "Archives Israelites," Paris, d.

8.

1825.—Sol. Kohn, ghetto novelist, Prague, b.
1827.—Wolf Frankenburger, member of the Bavarian diet, b.
1830.—Herman Makower, communal leader, b.
1903.—Sigmund Meyer, Justizrath, communal worker, Berlin, d.

9.

1828.—Lazarus Riesser, advocate of synagogue Reforms, father of Gabriel Riesser, d.
1851.—Reuben Samuel Gumperz, advocate of emancipation, Berlin, d.
1851.—Benjamin Wolf Löw, author of "Schaare Thorah," Ujhely, d.
1902.—Eugene Rosenstiel, philanthropist, Meran, d.

10.

1806.—Rachel Meyer, Jewish novelist, b.
1807.—Isaac Granboom, rabbi of Reform congregation Adath Jeshurun, Amsterdam, d.
1810.—Chayim Selig Slonimsky, mathematician, Bialystok, b.
1845.—Alexander III., Czar, persecutor of the Jews, b.
1868.—HirschKatzenelenbogen, rabbinical author, Wilna, d.
1870.—Ignatz Moscheles, renowned musician, Leipzig, d.
1871.—Solomon Steinhard, teacher and author, Hildburghausen, d.

1871.—August Lewald, convert, author, Munich, d.
1902.—Jenny Hirsch, worker for women's rights, author, Berlin, d.

11.

1764.—Benedict Schott, principal of the Jacobson school, Danzig, b.
1812.—Publication of an edict giving the Jews civil rights in Prussia.
1817.—M. A. Levy, Orientalist, Altona, b.
1831.—Adolph Neubauer, bibliographer, b.
1842.—Karl Eötvös, attorney of the Jews in the Tisza-Eszlar case, b.
1884.—Levi Herzfeld, rabbi and author, Brunswick, d.
1887.—John Hoff, famous for his malt extract, Berlin, d.
1890.—C. D. Asser, famous Dutch jurist, d.
1897.—Daniel Sanders, German philologist, Strelitz, d.
1900.—The murder of Winter, student of the gymnasium at Konitz.

12.

1730.—Abraham ben Jehudah, rabbi, Amsterdam, d.
1776.—Lady Esther Stanhope, converted to Judaism, b.
1797.—Samuel Marum Mayer, professor at Tübingen, convert, b.
1804.—Samuel Alatri, philanthropist, Rome, b.
1814.—Louis Jean Königswarter, French political economist, Amsterdam, b.
1834.—Jacob Simon, author on heraldry, Brussels, d.
1855.—Louis Ratisbonne, philanthropist, Strassburg, d.
1893.—Ludwig August Frankl, Ritter von Hochwart, poet, Vienna, d.
1899.—Sir Julius Vogel, premier of New Zealand, d.

13.

1601.—Mordecai Meisel, eminent benefactor, Prague, d.
1825.—Immanuel Ritter, preacher of the Berlin Reform Congregation, d.

1848.—Heinrich Spitzer, first victim of the Revolution, Vienna, d.
1858.—Abraham Antibi, rabbi at Aleppo, d.
1866.—Julius Rubo, jurist, Berlin, d.
1904.—Ludovic Trarieux, Christian advocate of the Jews, Paris, d.

14.

1640.—Joel Särkes (Bach), rabbi at Cracow, d.
1791.—Joh. Solomon Semler, one of the most aggressive rationalists, Halle, d.
1868.—Solomon Salkind, teacher at the rabbinical school of Wilna, Wilna, d.
1882.—Jacob Nachod, president of the German Union of Congregations, Leipzig, d.
1899.—Emil Erckmann, author of fine sketches of Jewish life, Luneville, d.
1899.—Heimann Steinthal, famous philologist, Berlin, d.
1899.—Ludwig Bamberger, prominent German politician, Berlin, d.

15.

1791.—"Wilhelmschule" opened at Breslau.
1800.—Joseph von Wertheimer, philanthropist and author, Vienna, b.
1801.—Joseph Levin Saalschütz, rabbi and professor, b.
1872.—Michel Levy, famous medical author, Paris, d.
1879.—Albert Cohn, Orientalist and philanthropist, Paris, d.
1889.—Bernhard Löwenstein, preacher, Lemberg, d.
1890.—Jonas Gurland, Jewish historian, Odessa, d.
1897.—James J. Sylvester, renowned mathematician, London, d.

16.

1843.—Nehemiah Brüll, rabbi and author, Kojetein, b.
1853.—Joseph Freiherr von Schey, jurist and professor at the University of Vienna, b.
1887.—Simon Spitzer, mathematician, Vienna, d.

1887.—Joseph von Wertheimer, author and communal worker, d.
1889.—Alfred Edersheim, convert, church historian, London, d.

17.

1807.—Mendel Hess, radical Reform rabbi, Stadt of Lengsfeld, d.
consistory and enacted the usury laws against the Jews.
1808.—Napoleon's decree which organized the constitution of the
1811.—Carl Gutzkow, the author of "Uriel Acosta," b.
1862.—Jacques Fromental Halévy, famous composer, Paris, d.
1873.—Joseph Salvador, apologist of Judaism, Paris, d.
1904.—Leopold Sée, French general, Paris, d.

18.

1797.—Michel Goudchaux, French statesman, Nancy, b.
1865.—Isaac Noah Mannheimer, preacher in Vienna, d.
1882.—Goudsmid, professor in Leyden, d.
1886.—Leopold Zunz, Berlin, d.
1888.—Leo Lewanda, one of the first Russian Jewish authors, d.
1896.—Vassili Berman, Russian Jewish author and Zionist, d.

19.

1822.—J. Ludwig Ewald, advocate of emancipation, Karlsruhe, d.
1831.—Julius Glaser, jurist, Austrian statesman, convert, Postelberg, b.
1832.—Theodore Gomperz, philologist, University professor, Austrian peer, Brünn, b.
1832.—Hermann Vambery, explorer, convert, Serdahely, b.
1873.—Wilhelm Stahl, political economist, convert, Giessen, d.
1888.—Sol. Abendana Belmonte, writer on jurisprudence, Hamburg, d.
1904.—Moritz Wolff, Swedish rabbi and author, Gothenburg, d.

20.

1800.—Gottfried Bernhardy, convert, philologist, b.
1813.—Joel Deutsch, teacher of deaf and dumb, Nicolsburg, b.

1835.—Aaron Wolfsohn, one of the "Biurists," Fürth, d.
1843.—Sol. Tiktin, orthodox rabbi, Breslau, d.
1848.—Hermann Hirschel, dramatic poet, Hamburg, b.
1885.—Joel Ballin, copper-plate engraver, Copenhagen, d.
1902.—Abraham Shalom Friedberg, Hebrew author, Warsaw, d.

21.

1648.—Leon Modena, rabbi, Venice, d.
1691.—Three Jews executed in Wilna on the false accusation of child murder.
1762.—Samuel Simon, court-Jew, Vienna, d.
1832.—Chayim Cöslin, grammarian, Stettin, d.
1872.—Gerson Bleichröder, first Prussian Jew ennobled.
1877.—Moritz Kohner, president of Union of German congregations, Leipzig, d.
1883.—George Jessel, Master of the Rolls, London, d.
1887.—Moritz Feitel, physician and Jewish author, Papa, d.
1888.—Hirsch Ornstein, rabbi, Lemberg, d.
1890.—Law passed in Austria for the regulation of Jewish congregations.
1901.—Joseph Deckert, anti-semitic agitator, Vienna, d.

22.

1753.—David Athias, prominent printer, Amsterdam, d.
1798.—Eduard Gans, jurist and philosopher, convert, Berlin, b.
1879.—Simon Bloch, editor of "L' Univers Israelite," Paris, d.
1833.—Michael Beer, dramatic poet, Munich, d.
1848.—Harry Bresslau, historian, b.
1887.—Ignatz Ortenau, first Jewish notary in Bavaria, Fürth, d.

23.

1552.—Sebastian Münster, prominent Hebraist, Basle, d.
1805.—Naphtali Herz Wesel (Hartwig Wessely), Hebrew poet and commentator, Hamburg, d.
1811.—Friedrich Karl Stahl, neurologist, convert, Munich, b.

1828.—David Friesenhausen, first to advocate the establishment of rabbinical seminaries, Gyulafeservas, d.
1831.—Joh. Bapt. de Rossi, Hebrew bibliographer, Parma, d.
1860.—Johann Franz Molitor, Catholic champion of Judaism, Frankfort-on-M., d.
1870.—Moritz Kalisch, painter, Amsterdam, d.
1876.—Isaac Artom, first Jew appointed Italian senator.
1887.—Lazarus Landshuth, Jewish historian, Berlin, d.
1893.—Adolph Fischhof, Austrian politician, d.

24.

1811.—Fanny Lewald, authoress, convert, Königsberg, b.
1832.—Abraham di Cologna, president of the French consistory, d.
1882.—Ignaz Edler von Kuffner, burgomaster, Ottakring, d.
1893.—Arkadi Kaufmann, philanthropist, St. Petersburg, d.
1900.—Solomon Joachim Halberstamm, prominent Jewish literateur, Bielitz, d.
1902.—Solomon Mandelkern, Hebrew and German writer, Vienna, d.

25.

1592.—Sam. Jeh. Katzenelenbogen, rabbi at Padua, d.
1801.—Joseph Almanzi, bibliophile and Hebrew poet, b.
1890.—Bär Kestin, Hebrew author, Rushony, d.

26.

1481.—Seventeen Jewish martyrs burned at Seville.
1671.—Ashkenazim synagogue dedicated at Amsterdam.
1780.—Julius Hitzig, jurist, son of Isaac Itzig, Berlin, b.
1832.—Michel Breal, French philologian, Landau, b.
1850.—Hugo Rheinhold, sculptor, Oberlahnstein, b.
1882.—Leopold Feldmann, German poet, d.
1883.—Simon Schreiber, rabbi in Cracow, and member of the Austrian Reichsrath, d.
1886.—Benjamin Mandelstein, Hebrew author, Simferopol, d.

1891.—Moses Reines, Hebrew author, Wilna, d.
1900.—Isaac M. Wise, American rabbi and author, Cincinnati, d.
1901.—Ludwig Lewysohn, rabbi, Stockholm, d.

27.

1288.—Thirteen martyrs executed at Troyes.
1850.—Wilhelm Beer, astronomer, Berlin, d.
1852.—Siegmund Kornfeld, financier and Hungarian magnate, Jenikau, b.
1872.—Raphael Kosch, German politician, d.
1904.—Albert W. Goldsmid, English colonel and communal worker, Paris, d.

28.

1038.—Hai Gaon, head of the school at Pumbaditha, d.
1832.—Lazarus Bendavid, Berlin, d.
1849.—James Darmstetter, French Orientalist, b.
1900.—Mendel Hirsch, principal of the school at Frankfort, d.
1901.—Max Ring, poet, Berlin, d.
1903.—Leopold Pick, Austrian major and military author, Vienna, d.
1903.—Nahum Sachs, Hebrew pedagogic author, Warsaw, d.
1904.—Abraham B. Arnold, medical and Jewish author, San Francisco, d.

29.

1244.—Meir Halevi Abulafia, rabbi, Toledo, d.
1602.—John Lightfoot, Christian Hebraist, Stoke-on-Trent, b.
1714.—David Altaras, author, Venice, d.
1815.—Jacob Moses Löwenstein, chief rabbi, Amsterdam, d.
1819.—Isaac M. Wise, American rabbi, Steingrub, b.
1832.—Theodore Gomperz, philologist, University professor and member of the Austrian House of Lords, Bruenn, b.
1834.—Chananja Cohen, Hebrew grammarian and lexicographer, Florence, d.
1840.—Eduard Schnitzer (Emin Pasha), explorer, b.

1848.—Civil equality granted to Jews in the Kingdom of Sardinia.
1853.—Samuel Vita della Volta, physician and Hebrew author, Mantua, d.
1866.—Mendel Libowitz, Chasidic rabbi, d.
1875.—David Aug. Rosenthal, convert, author of "Convertitenbilder," Breslau, d.
1880.—H. B. Oppenheim, German politician and political economist, d.
1888.—Charles H. B. Alkan, French musician, d.

30.

1600.—Esther Chiera, favorite of the Sultan, murdered at Constantinople.
1804.—Sol. Sulzer, cantor and composer, Hohenems, b.
1816.—Moritz Steinschneider, greatest Jewish bibliographer, Prossnitz, b.
1873.—Abraham Camondo, philanthropist, Paris, d.
1880.—M. Wiener, Jewish historian, Hanover, d.
1888.—Emil Bessels, north pole explorer, d.

31.

1283.—Slaughter of Jews at Mulrichstadt.
1492.—Decree expelling Jews from Spain promulgated.
1722.—Campegius Vitringa, Dutch Hebraist, d.
1863.—Abraham Abraham, Jewish author, Liverpool, d.
1900.—Joseph Gruber, medical professor, Vienna, d.

IV.

APRIL.

1.

1793.—Hasharath Zebi school founded in Halberstadt.
1815.—Otto von Bismarck, German statesman of anti-semitic leanings, b.
1828.—Max Büdinger, historian, Cassel, b.
1867.—Hermann Schiff, satirical writer, Heine's cousin, Hamburg, d.
1869.—Phöbus Philippson, physician and author, d.
1882.—Disappearance of Esther Solymosi in Tisza Eszlar.
1897.—H. Makower, Berlin Justizrath, and leader in the community, d.
1899.—Baroness Clara de Hirsch, widow of the great philanthropist, d.

2.

1620.—Isaac Usiel, preacher in the Portuguese congregation, Amsterdam, d.
1709.—Shemaja b. Abraham Bär, rabbi in Berlin, d.
1755.—R. Aryeh Löb (Levin Saul) chief rabbi of Amsterdam.
1791.—Count Mirabeau, advocate of Jewish emancipation, d.
1800.—Israel Deutsch, rabbi and champion of orthodoxy, Zülz, b.
1806.—Gabriel Riesser, fearless champion of the Jews, Hamburg, b.

3.

1582.—Herzka b. Abba, commentator on Midrash Rabboth, Lemberg, b.
1634.—Jospe Hahn, author on ritual, Frankfort-on-M., d.
1673.—Reuben Kohen b. Höschke, author of Jalkut Reubini, Prague, d.

1795.—Hirsh Kalischer, founder of Zionism, b.
1814.—David Altaras, Hebrew author, Venice, d.
1857.—Loew Schwab, rabbi in Budapest, d.
1870.—Philip Jaffe, German historian, d.
1884.—Ignaz Kuranda, Austrian politician, d.
1890.—Arnaud Aron, chief rabbi at Strassburg, d.
1903.—Moses Reichersohn, Hebrew grammarian, New York, d.

4.

1693.—Isaac Aboab, Hebrew author, Amsterdam, d.
1762.—David Fränkel, rabbinical author, teacher of Mendelssohn, Berlin, d.
1818.—M. Kohner, founder of the "Deutsch-Israelitischer Gemeindebund, Neumark, b.
1883.—Menahem Cattawi Bey "Egyptian Rothschild," d.
1886.—M. Warburg, member of Reichstag, Altona, d.
1887.—Isaias Morgenstern, convert, d.

5.

1760.—Jacob Hayim Abendana de Britto, chief rabbi, Amsterdam, d.
1790.—Moses Ephraim Kuh, first German Jewish poet, Breslau, d.
1793.—Moses Dobruska (Thomas Schönfeld), convert, playwright, Paris, guillotined.
1804.—M. J. Schleiden, natural scientist and defender of the Jews, b.
1875.—Moritz Hess, Zionist, author of "Rome and Jerusalem," Paris, d.
1882.—M. Lilienthal, rabbi, Cincinnati, d.
1888.—Moritz von Goldschmidt, leader of Jewish community, Vienna, d.
1891.—Isaac Pesaro Maurogonato, senator, Italy, d.
1900.—L. M. Simmons, rabbi, Manchester, d.

6.

1864.—Zebi Hirsch Mecklenberg, Hebrew author, Königsberg, d.
1890.—W. von Boschan, alderman, Vienna, d.
1904.—Lazar Atlas, Hebrew essayist, Bialystok, d.

7.

1615.—Guild riots in Worms.
1667.—Professor Carpzov, author of Critica Sacra, Lübeck, d.
1781.—Abraham Muhr, communal leader, Pless, b.
1815.—Marco Mortara, author of rabbinical works, b.
1868.—K. Heinemann, Swedish rabbi, d.
1900.—Isaac Rabinowitz, poet in modern Hebrew, New York, d.
1901.—Hillel Kahane, teacher and worker for the "Enlightenment," Bottuschan, d.

8.

1845.—Solomon Rosenthal, writer and communal leader, Pest, d.
1904.—Chajim M. Horowitz, Hebrew author, Frankfort-on-M., d.

9.

1582.—Naphtali Herz ben Meir, rabbi in Lemberg, d.
1723.—Löb Neumark, Hebrew grammarian, d.
1816.—Simcha Bunem Rappaport, rabbi and Talmudic author, Bonn, d.
1879.—Karl Isidor Beck, German poet, convert, Vienna, d.
1891.—Adolf Saphir, missionary, nephew of the satirist, London, d.

10.

1699.—Samuel Orgels, commentator on "Orach Chajim," Hamburg, d.
1719.—Simon Michael, court Jew, Vienna, d.
1728.—Solomon Ayllon, rabbi, Amsterdam, d.
1835.—Johann Schnitzler, medical professor, Gross Kanisza, d.

1849.—David Proops, last representative of the famous printing firm, Amsterdam, d.
1858.—Jewish veterans receive permission to settle in Finland.

11.

1715.—Jacob Rodriguez Pereira, originator of deaf mute instruction, Berlanger, b.
1825.—Ferdinand Lasalle, Social Democratic agitator, b.
1864.—Elijah Bardach, Hebrew author, Lemburg, d.
1876.—Ludwig Traube, physician, Berlin, d.
1893.—Adolph Franck, French philosopher, Paris, d.

12.

1660.—Sheftel Hurwitz, Talmudic author, Vienna, d.
1740.—Simson Morpurgo, rabbi of Gradisca, opponent of Cabbala, d.
1792.—H. J. Michael, eminent Bibliophile, b.
1804.—Abbé Liberman, convert, b.
1863.—Julius Barrasch, physician and author, Bucharest, d.
1863.—Süskind Raschkow, Hebrew poet, d.
1886.—Arjeh Löb Jelin, Talmudic author, d.
1899.—A. B. Gottlober, Hebraic literateur, Bialystok, d.

13.

1823.—Eugene Manuel, poet and pedagogue, Paris, b.
1823.—Sabbato Morais, leader of American Orthodoxy, Leghorn, b.
1850.—Bernhard Alexander, professor of philosophy, Budapest, b.
1866.—Naphtali Frankfurter, preacher, Hamburg, d.
1903.—Moritz Lazarus, philosopher, Meran, d.

14.

1660.—Seven Jews in Seville burnt at the stake.
1712.—Elijah Spira, author, Prague, d.

1815.—Chajim Zebi Lerner, grammarian and literateur, b.
1882.—Ludwig Waldenburg, physician and professor in Berlin University, d.
1890.—M. Lehmann, publicist, Mayence, d.
1897.—Lazar Wogue, French rabbi and author, d.

15.

1698.—Jacob Sasportas, rabbi, Amsterdam, d.
1815.—Eliezer Zebi Zweifel, Hebrew author, b.
1833.—Maurice Löwy, astronomer, Budapest, b.
1834.—Joseph Kohen Moline, poet, Brussels, b.
1839.—Emily Ludwig (Levy) juvenile writer, d.
1882.—Bruno Bauer, radical theologian and anti-semite, d.
1891.—Eduard Reuss, author of a Bible commentary, protestant theologian, d.
1898.—Cesare Parenzo, Italian senator, Nerva, d.
1900.—Dankmar Adler, architect, Chicago, d.
1903.—Gustav Gottheil, rabbi, New York, d.

16.

1203.—Menachem ben Jacob, teacher and poet, Worms, d.
1669.—Jonah Teomim, rabbi, Talmudist, Metz, d.
1717.—Abraham Broda, rabbi, Frankfort-on-M., d.
1729.—Jacob Eliezer Braunschweig, Talmudic author, Vienna, d.
1741.—Abraham Spitz, who purchased the freedom of the imprisoned Jews of Buda, d.
1821.—D. A. Rosenthal, convert and author, d.
1858.—Alois Jeiteles, physician and writer, Brünn, d.
1862.—Samuel M. Mayer, convert, professor in Tübingen, d.
1872.—Moritz Reichenheim, founder of the Orphan's Home, Berlin, d.
1879.—L. Lazarus, director of rabbinical Seminar, Breslau, d.
1897.—Carl Lueger (anti-semite) installed Burgomaster of Vienna, d.

17.

1750.—"General Reglement" for the Prussian Jews.
1782.—Samuel Falk, the "Baal Shem" of London, d.
1798.—Resettlement of Jews in Cologne.
1818.—Th. Creizenach, founder of the Reform Verein, later a convert, b.
1888.—Abr. Warshawski, manufacturer and philanthropist, St. Petersburg, d.
1894.—Fanny Neuda, authoress of prayer books for women, d.

18.

1735.—Ephraim Nabon, rabbinical author, Constantinople, d.
1783.—Bishop Kennicot, collector of Bible manuscripts, d.
1806.—Dr. Jonas Jeitteles, physician, Prague, d.
1845.—Simon von Lämmel, financier, Prague, d.
1881.—Lord Beaconsfield, English statesman, convert, d.
1887.—Ignaz Reich, author, Budapest, d.
1893.—Moses Eisman, Hebrew author, d.
1902.—Markus Wolf Hinrichsen, member of the Reichstag, Hamburg, d.

19.

1283.—Many Jews killed in Mayence and Bacharach.
1287.—St. Werner of Bacharach, immortalized by Heine, d.
1670.—Samson Bacharach, rabbi, Worms, d.
1670.—Solomon Marini, author of a commentary to Isaiah, Padua, d.
1776.—Jacob Emden, Talmudic author, Altona, d.
1813.—Jacob Fischel, alienist, b.
1814.—Moses Philippson, author, Dessau, d.
1819.—S. L. Schwabacher, rabbi of Odessa, b.
1820.—George Levin, medical professor, b.
1872.—Herman Frenkel, deputy to Galician diet, d.
1903.—Massacre in Kishineff.

20.

1344.—Levi ben Gerson, philosopher, mathematician, translator, commentator, Southern France, d.
1632.—Nicolas Anthoine, protestant clergyman, proselyte, burnt at the stake, Geneva.
1772.—Israel Levi ben Moses, astronomer, Brody, d.
1834.—A. Th. Hartman, anti-semite, theologian, Rostock, d.
1851.—Isaac Erter, physician, satirist, Brody, d.
1871.—Jacob Tugendhold, Polish author and director of the rabbinical seminary, Warsaw, d.
1888.—Samuel Poljakoff, Russian railroad constructor, philanthropist, d.
1893.—Wilhelm Löwenthal, investigator of the Argentine colonies, Berlin, d.
1895.—Joseph Heimann Caro, Talmudic author, Wloclawek, d.
1897.—W. Herzberg, German author, Brussels, d.

21.

1481.—Jews in Seville burnt at the stake.
1585.—Moses di Trani, Talmudic author, Safed, d.
1840.—A. S. Weismann, Hebrew literateur, b.
1843.—Duke of Sussex, advocate of the Jews, d.
1870.—Wolfgang Wessely, religious author, jurist, professor in Prague University, Vienna, d.
1896.—Moritz v. Hirsch, philanthropist, d.

22.

1759.—Israel Riess, author of "Sheerith Israel," twenty years of age, d.
1767.—Baruch Jeitteles, Jewish author, Prague, b.
1863.—Gabriel Riesser, champion of the rights of the Jews, Hamburg, d.
1881.—Joseph Goldmark, member of the Austrian Parliament, New York, d.
1900.—Louis Bein, author on political economy, d.

23.

1283.—In Brückenhausen sixteen Jews were killed.
1622.—Jacob Horwitz, Talmudic author, d.
1797.—Solomon Plessner, leader of modern orthodoxy, Breslau, b.
1859.—Lazar Scheineanu, Roumanian philologist, convert, b.
1884.—Anton Asher, actor, Meran, d.

24.

1439.—Abigedor Kara, writer on theology, Prague, d.
1790.—Meir Margalioth, rabbi and Talmudic author, Ostrog, d.
1887.—Joseph Levi, editor of "Mose," Corfu, d.
1889.—Sol. Formstecher, rabbi, Offenbach, d.

25.

1221.—Baruch ben Samuel, Talmudist and liturgical poet, Mayence, d.
1599.—Oliver Cromwell, friend of the Jews, b.
1796.—Joseph von Geldern, physician, uncle of Heine, Düsseldorf, d.
1808.—Gustav Weil, Orientalist, Heidelberg, b.
1828.—Law concerning Jewish affairs in Würtemberg promulgated.
1846.—Judah Bacharach, rabbi and Talmudic author, Seiny, d.

26.

1792.—Joseph Teomim, author of Peri Megadim, Frankfort-on-O., d.
1817.—Joseph Baron von Sonnenfels, convert, humanitarian statesman, Vienna, d.
1829.—Th. Billroth, known for his hostile judgment in the case of Jewish students and his public stand against anti-semitism, b.

1850.—Leo Wolf, author of medical works and one of the founders of the "Temple," Hamburg, d.
1878.—David Deutsch, leader of Hungarian orthodoxy, rabbi of Balassa Gyarmath, d.
1883.—Sam. Alex. Byck, banker and writer on philosophy, Leipzig, d.
1891.—Joachim Oppenheim, rabbi in Thorn and Hebrew author, Berlin, d.
1893.—Abraham E. Pumpiansky, rabbi at Riga, d.
1903.—Jewish Theological Seminary in New York dedicated.

27.

1293.—Meir ben Baruch of Rothenburg, in the prison of Ensisheim, d.
1822.—Sol. Löwisohn, author of a Jewish history, Vienna, d.
1822.—U. S. Grant, President of the United States, known for an anti-Jewish document, b.
1826.—Eleazar Fleckeles, rabbi and Talmudic author, Prague, b.
1859.—Isaac Lyon Goldsmid, advocate of Jewish rights, London, d.

28.

1560.—Kalmann Worms, rabbi, Lemberg, d.
1778.—Schmelke Horwitz, rabbi and cabbalist, Nikolsburg, d.
1834.—Samuel Trabotti, philanthropist, Mantua, d.
1860.—Isaac da Costa, Dutch poet, Amsterdam, d.
1896.—H. v. Treitschke, anti-semite, d.

29.

1280.—R. Isaac of Corbeil, author of the "Semak," d.
1614.—Joshua Falk Kohen, "Sema," rabbi, Lemberg, d.
1679.—Joshua di Silva, Chacham, London, d.
1793.—Ezekiel Landau, rabbi and writer on the Halachah, Prague, d.

1819.—Moses Angel, director of the "Jews Free School," London, b.
1864.—David Samosch, author and translator of poems in Hebrew, d.
1881.—Anton S. Adam Solomon, sculptor, Paris, d.

29.

1885.—Moritz Dessauer, Landesrabbiner, Meiningen, d.

30.

1637.—Abraham Katzenelenbogen Ashkenazi, rabbi, Lemberg, d.
1833.—Baruch Auerbach Orphan Asylum in Berlin opened.
1850.—Solomon Sachs, translator and commentator of Jeremiah, d.
1895.—Gustav Freytag, author of "Soll und Haben."

V.

MAY.

1.

1572.—Moses Isserles, codifier "Remo," Cracow, d.
1700.—Joseph Athias, publisher, Amsterdam, d.
1775.—Israel Lyons, astronomer and mathematician, London, d.
1801.—Hermann Schiff, German writer, b.
1805.—Johann Jacoby, German politician, Koenigsberg, b.
1808.—Francis Henry Goldsmid, M. P., first Jewish lawyer in England, b.
1817.—Karl Isidor Beck, German poet, convert, b.
1849.—Isaac Bernays Chacham, Hamburg, d.
1885.—David Gordon, Hebrew writer, d.
1893.—Abraham Sack, author and merchant, Berlin, d.
1899.—Joel Deutsch, principal of the Jewish deaf and dumb institute, Vienna, d.
1900.—Baron Moritz von Cohn, banker of Emperor William, d.
1901.—Jacob Freiherr von Mayer, Koburg, d.
1902.—Theodore Klein, medical writer, member of Paris consistory, Paris, d.

2.

1634.—Jacob Bassewi, ennobled financier, Prague, d.
1718.—Zebi Ashkenazi, rabbi, Lemberg, d.
1784.—Marks Haindorf, founder of Haindorf Institute at Münster, b.
1793.—Jacques Leon Aronsohn, medical professor, Strassburg, b.
1832.—Abraham Berliner, Jewish historian, Obersitzko, b.
1836.—Aaron Worms, Talmudic author, Metz, d.
1860.—Theodor Herzl, leader of the Zionistic movement, author of "Jewish State," Budapest, b.

1862.—Joseph Wolff, English missionary, convert, d.
1864.—Giacomo Meyerbeer, musical composer, d.
1878.—Francis Henry Goldsmid, member of Parliament, d.
1893.—Johann Schnitzler, throat specialist, university professor, Vienna, d.
1899.—Martin Eduard von Simson, President of German Reichstag, convert, d.

3.

1096.—A number of Jews killed by crusaders in Speier, Germany.
1407.—Israel of Krems appointed "Reichshochmeister."
1583.—Isaac Mehling, rabbi in Prague, d.
1616.—Meir of Lublin, rabbi and Talmudic author, d.
1655.—Abraham Nunez Bernal burnt at Cordova, d.
1665.—Massacre of the Jews of Lemberg, instigated by Jesuits.
1703.—Samuel Oppenheimer, renowned financier, Vienna, d.
1871.—Edward Munk philologist, Glogau, d.
1882.—Temporary laws against Jews promulgated in Russia (May Laws, 15 May).

4.

1758.—Solomon Lipschitz, cantor, wrote book for cantors, Metz, d.
1789.—Angelo Paggi, Jewish author, Siena, b.
1816.—Joseph Franco, violinist, b.
1852.—Moses Landau, editor of the Aruch, Prague, d.
1864.—Israel Joseph Benjamin II., traveler, d.
1875.—Heinrich Ewald, exegete, Goettingen, d.
1875.—Michael Levi, publisher, Paris, d.
1903.—Emile Dreifus, Brisac, French medical author, Paris, d.

5.

1624.—Priests in Coimbra burned Dr. Antonio Homem, a convert to Judaism.
1767.—Isaac Levi Hurwitz, rabbi and author, Altona, d.
1821.—Napoleon, who called Sanhedrin together, d.

1839.—Eduard Gans, jurist and philosopher, professor at Berlin, a convert, d.
1859.—Mordecai Zebi Mane, painter and Hebrew poet, b.

6.

1629.—Chajim Vital, founder of Lurianian mysticism, Damascus, d.
1664.—Abraham ben Solomon killed at Lemberg.
1747.—Moses Chajim Luzzato, neo-Hebraic poet, d.
1781.—Beer Lema, Talmudic writer, d.
1785.—Saul Halevi, rabbi, Hague, d.
1786.—Ludwig Boerne, author, convert, Frankfort-on-M., b.
1830.—Abraham Jacobi, medical professor, Hartum, b.
1831.—Samuel I. J. Scheresehewski, convert, missionary, translated Bible into Chinese, Tauroggen, b.
1838.—Samuel Loeb Kauder, rabbi, Prague, d.
1839.—Joseph Neuwirth, Austrian politician and political economist, Triesch, b.
1842.—Isaac Spitz, rabbi and author, Jungbunzlau, d.
1848.—Hermann L. Strack, Christian advocate of Jews, b.
1859.—Alexander von Humboldt, author, friend of Jews, d.
1889.—Chajim Zebi Lerner, Hebrew writer, d.
1889.—August Abrahamson, Gothenburg, promoter of trade school system, d.

7.

1880.—Leone Levi, juristic writer, London, d.
1884.—Beer Goldberg, Hebrew literateur, Paris, d.

8.

1664.—Some Jews were killed at Lemberg.
1806.—Feibus Cohen, rabbinical writer, d.
1811.—Ignaz Kuranda, Austrian politician, b.
1819.—David Levi, Italian poet, b.
1878.—Meyer Auerbach, chief rabbi of Jerusalem, d.
1884.—Judah P. Benjamin, American statesman, London, d.

9.

1572.—Moses Beschitzi, Karaitic writer, d.
1664.—Two teachers of the Talmud were killed at Lemberg.
1735.—Jonas Jeiteles, M. D., Prague, b.
1773.—Moses Philippson, religious author, b.
1800.—Justus Olshausen, exegete and grammarian, b.
1824.—Jacob Bachrach, Hebrew writer, Seiny, b.
1867.—Sigismund Stern, leader of Reform movement, Frankfort-on-M., d.
1899.—Simon Samuel, professor of medicine, Koenigsberg, d.
1904.—Jenny Gross, actress, Berlin, d.

10.

1682.—Abraham Lopez Pereira and Isaac da Fonseca were burned.
1795.—Joachim Edler von Popper, financier and benefactor, Prague, d.
1879.—Benzion Berkowitz, Hebrew writer, Wilna, d.
1885.—Ferdinand Hiller, composer, convert, d.
1888.—Michael Heilprin, celebrated scholar, New York, d.

11.

1785.—G. B. Depping, Jewish historian (Christian), Münster, b.
1823.—Asher Ginsburg, Jewish scholar, d.
1886.—Isidore Calisch, American rabbi, d.
1892.—Joseph Beer Solowejczyk, Talmudic author, Brest, d.
1902.—Ascher I. Myers, publisher of Jewish Chronicle, London, d.

12.

1751.—Petachjah ben David of Lida, Frankfort-on-M., d.
1805.—Julius Fuerst, professor of the University of Leipzig, bibliographer, Zerkow, b.
1807.—Samuel Breinersdorf, medical writer, Breslau, d.
1817.—Laws enacted in Holland compelling communities to organize public schools.

1832.—Jacob Freiherr von Mayer, manufacturer, Bibra, b.
1858.—J. G. B. Winer, Christian Hebraist, Leipzig, d.
1862.—Samson Wolf Rosenfeld, rabbi at Bamberg, author, d.
1873.—Gideon Brecher, M. D., Jewish writer, Prossnitz, d.
1884.—Benjamin Hollaender, manufacturer and Hebraist, Leobschütz, d.
1900.—Attilio Luzzato, Italian politician and editor, d.

13.

1728.—Isaac Chajim Cantarini, author, d.
1779.—Jacob Solomon Bartholdy, Prussian statesman, convert, b.
1782.—Fr. Albrecht Augusti, convert, Eschwege, d.
1792.—Pius IX., author of the "Syllabus of Errors," responsible for the kidnapping of Mortara, b.
1799.—Isaiah (Pick), Berlin, Talmudic author, d.
1829.—Marcus Jastrow, rabbi and author, Rogasen, b.
1872.—Moritz Hartmann, German poet, d.
1873.—Emanuel Deutsch, author of an essay on the Talmud, Alexandria, d.
1896.—Germain Sée, professor and author of medical works, Paris, d.
1900.—Hermann Levi, musician and convert, Munich, d.

14.

1726.—Moses Darshan, rabbinical writer, d.
1803.—Solomon Munk, Orientalist, member of Academy of France, Glogau, b.
1864.—M. H. Breslau, Anglo-Jewish author, London, d.
1869.—Gabriel Polak, pedagogue and author, Amsterdam, d.
1873.—Prussian laws concerning status of Jews enacted.
1875.—Gottfried Bernhardy philologist, convert, d.
1886.—S. E. Berolzheimer, first Jewish judge in Bavaria, Fürth, d.
1889.—Samuel Hirsch, American Reform rabbi, d.

1892.—A. S. Weissmann, Hebrew author, Vienna, d.
1902.—Giuseppe Ottolenghi, appointed Minister of War in Italy.

15.

1664.—Chajim ben Mordecai, killed at Lemberg.
1792.—James Rothschild, founder of the Paris house, Frankfort-on-M., b.
1822.—Leopold Kompert, ghetto novelist, München-Grätz, b.
1847.—Daniel O'Connell, Catholic advocate of Jewish rights, d.
1850.—Wolf Hamburger, famous Talmudist, Fürth, d.
1878.—Solomon van Nierop, Dutch lawyer, communal leader, d.
1887.—Dr. Wilhelm v. Königswarter, philanthropist, d.
1896.—Lambert, French general, Paris, d.
1904.—Chajim Selig Slonimsky, Hebrew scientist, Warsaw, d.

16.

1659.—Campegius Vitringa, Dutch theologian, author of "De Synagoga Vetere," b.
1767.—Samuel Borchart, author of Biblical zoology, Caen, d.
1775.—Veitel Heine Ephraim, mint master, Berlin, d.
1789.—Michael Creizenach, Reform writer, Mayence, b.
1799.—Alexander McCaul, missionary to the Jews, Dublin, b.
1807.—Joseph Abraham Steblicky, proselyte at Nicolai, Silesia, d.
1823.—Heimann Steinthal, philosopher and philologist, Gröbzig, b.
1826.—David B. Adler, Danish politician, b.
1828.—Wilhelm v. Rothschild, Frankfort-on-M., b.
1831.—Samuel Hirschfelder, painter, Dettensen, b.

17.

1617.—Löb Saraval, rabbi at Mantua, d.
1748.—Shabbetai Marini, physician and poet, Padua, d.
1779.—Raphael Levi, mathematician and astronomer, Hanover, d.
1780.—Moses Serach Eidlitz, author of an arithmetic, Prague, d.

1820.—Israel Hildesheimer, leader of German orthodoxy, Halberstadt, b.
1895.—Wilhelm von Gutmann, financier and commercial leader, Vienna, d.
1899.—Joseph Rabbinowitz, founder of Jewish Christian sect "New Israel," Kishinew, d.

18.

1729.—Mordecai Mokiach, Shabbatean propagandist, Pressburg, d.
1837.—W Steinitz, chess player, Prague, b.
1843.—Samuel Chajim Lolli, poet and grammarian, Gorice, d.
1865.—David Fränkel, editor "Sulamith," Dessau, d.
1887.—Wolf Kaplan, Hebrew author, Riga, d.
1888.—Hirsch Ornstein, rabbi, Lemberg, d.
1891.—Hillel Lichtenstein, rabbi and orthodox leader, Kolomea, d.
1897.—Riot in Algiers.

19.

1103.—Isaac Alfasi, Talmudic author, Lucena, d.
1707.—Saul, son of Joshua Höschel, rabbi of Amsterdam, Glogau, d.
1762.—J. G. Fichte, philosopher and anti-semite, b.
1771.—Rachel Levin (Varnhagen), b.
1862.—Ephraim Willstätter, rabbi, author of a history of the Jews, d.
1866.—Sol. Steinheim, M. D., philosopher and poet, Zurich, d.
1871.—Max Letteris, Hebraist, Vienna, d.
1873.—Friedrich Karl Stahl, alienist, convert, Karthaus-Prill, d.
1887.—Otto Stobbe, author of a history of the Jews in Germany, d.

20.

1442.—Solomon Kohen, martyr to Judaism.
1790.—Eleazar Werblow, martyred, Grodno.
1806.—Samuel Löw, commentator of the Shulchan Aruch, Boskowitz, d.

1822.—Emile Erckmann, French ghetto novelist, b.
1889.—Sam. Alatri, philanthropist, Rome, d.
1895.—Joseph Neuwirth, Mariagrün, Styria, d. See May 6.

21.

1529.—Thirty Jews burned in Bösing, Hungary.
1760.—Israel Besht, founder of Chasidism, Miedzyborz, d.
1786.—"Kahal" (communal organization) instituted in Russia.
1799.—Daniel Itzig, Maecenas, Berlin, d.
1818.—Israel M. Rabbinowitz, Talmudic author, b.
1823.—David Rosin, Jewish writer, Rosenberg, b.
1829.—Lazarus Geiger, philologist, Frankfort-on-M., b.
1864.—G. H. Lippmann, rabbi and author, Kissingen, d.
1882.—Solomon Taussig, author, Munich, d.

22.

1370.—Jews burned in Brussels.
1681.—Joseph Chajim Kitzingen, Casale, d.
1802.—Leopold Feldmann, German poet, Munich, b.
1811.—Leopold Löw, Jewish theologian, Czernahora, b.
1813.—Richard Wagner, composer and anti-semite, b.
1834.—Adolf Ludwig Cohn, historian, convert, Breslau, b.
1839.—Israel ben Samuel, author, Sklow, d.
1843.—Adolf Baginsky, physician, university professor, Berlin, b.
1851.—M. M. Noah, who attempted to found a Jewish state, New York, d.
1858.—David Ottensosser, Biblical exegete, Fürth, d.
1880.—Joseph Aub, rabbi, Berlin, d.
1880.—G. R. Halphen, mathematical writer and French artillery officer, Versailles, d.

23.

1708.—Solomon de Oliveira, Amsterdam, d.
1893.—Anton von Schmerling, liberal Austrian statesman and somewhat of an anti-semite, d.
1897.—Ed. E. Pereire, artist, Paris, d.
1903.—Russian edict adding one hundred and one towns to the Pale promulgated.

24.

1241.—Murder of Jews at Frankfort-on-M.
1801.—A. A. Wolff, chief rabbi of Copenhagen, Darmstadt, b.
1810.—Abraham Geiger, one of the greatest Jewish theologians of modern times, Frankfort-on-M., b.
1862.—Samuel Löw Citron, Hebrew essayist, Minsk, b.
1883.—G. G. Valentin, professor, Bern, d.
1896.—P. E. von Noorden, musician and composer, d.

25.

1096.—Many Jews killed at Worms.
1523.—Saul Hakohen, philosophical writer, from Candia, d.
1741.—Daniel Christian Jablonski, printer of the Talmud, Berlin, d.
1757.—Jacob Daniel Olmo, author of "Eden," Ferrara, d.
1832.—Jacob of Lissa, Talmudic author, Stryj, Galicia, d.
1868.—Religious freedom in Austria promulgated.
1894.—Alexander Kohut, rabbi and scientific author, New York, d.
1904.—Kalman W. Wisotzki, philanthropist, Moscow, d.

26.

1171.—Many Jews martyred at Blois.
1615.—Samuel Bacharach, rabbi, Worms, d.
1711.—Löb Minden, poet, Altona, d.
1746.—Menachem Manele ben Baruch Halevi, Lemberg, d.
1820.—S. Kristeller, M. D., and Jewish writer, b.

1841.—Simon Fubini, professor, medical writer, b.
1878.—Dr. Abraham de Pinto, jurist, The Hague, d.
1881.—Jacob Bernays, philologist, archaeologist professor, Bonn, d.
1881.—Philipp, Baron de Schey, financier, Vienna, d.

27.

1096.—Jewish population of Mayence killed by Crusaders.
1782.—Regulation of the political status of the Jews in Sweden.
1799.—Jacques Fromental Halévy, composer, b.
1848.—Maimon Fränkel, co-editor of "Teutonia," Hamburg, d.

28.

1783.—Cherem prohibited in Austria.
1811.—Abraham de Pinto, jurist, b.
1831.—Abbé Gregoire, champion of the Jews, d.
1880.—Moritz Rappaport, poet and physician, Vienna, d.
1881.—Feisch Fischmann, Maggid, Pressburg, d.
1889.—Jonas Wiesner, rabbi and author, Nachod, d.

29.

1090.—R. Isaac, killed in a church at Cologne.
1820.—Christian Dohm, champion of the Jews, d.
1839.—Herman Adler, chief rabbi of London, Hanover, b.
1861.—Lelewel, Polish historian and geographer, friend of the Jews, d.
1876.—B. A. Herrmann, dramatist and manager of the theatre, Hamburg, d.
1900.—David Tittinger, member Austrian Reichsrath, Czernowitz, d.

30.

1624.—Isaac ben Samson Kohen, author, Prague, d.
1794.—Ignaz Moscheles, musician, Prague, b.
1806.—Assembly of Jewish notables called by Napoleon.

1829.—Lewin Goldschmidt, professor, prominent jurist, b.
1840.—Jewish oath abolished in Saxony.
1844.—Benzion Frizzi of Ostiano, apologist of the Jews, d.

31.

1776.—During a wedding ceremony at Mantua house collapsed and sixty-seven Jews killed.
1855.—Anton von Rosas, physician and anti-semitic writer, Vienna, d.
1872.—Law concerning Jewish elementary and normal schools in Russia enacted.

VI.

JUNE.

1.

1588.—Chajim ben Bezalel, Hebrew grammarian, Friedberg, d.
1685.—Samuel Haida, Cabbalistic author, Prague, d.
1790.—S. L. Rapoport, rabbi and author, Lemberg, b.
1812.—William Stahl, political economist, convert, Munich, b.
1833.—The law concerning the emancipation of the Jews in the Province of Posen.
1901.—Eugene Manuel, poet and pedagogue, Paris, d.

2.

1735.—Chajim Kimchi, rabbi in Constantinople, d.
1753.—Count Potocky, proselyte, burned in Wilna.
1782.—Charter of Toleration, Emperor Joseph II.
1816.—Grace Aguilar, Jewish authoress, London, b.
1847.—Emanuel Bessels, north pole explorer, b.
1892.—Isidor Loeb, secretary of "Alliance Israelite Universelle," author, d.
1895.—Heinrich von Friedberg, Prussian attorney-general, convert, Berlin, d.

3.

1670.—Ephraim ha-Kohen, rabbi, author, Altofen, d.
1728.—Chajim and Joshua Reizeles, executed in Lemberg in a gruesome manner.
1803.—Gabriel Polak, historian and translator, Amsterdam, b.
1816.—Senior Sachs, Hebrew author, Keidani, b.
1819.—M. Wiener, Jewish historian, Glogau, b.
1879.—Lionel Nathan Rothschild, member of English Parliament, d.

4.

1391.—Riot against the Jews in Seville, accompanied by bloodshed.
1786.—Samson School founded in Wolfenbüttel as "Klaus."
1835.—Seckel Fränkel, one of the founders of the Hamburg temple, d.
1848.—Ludwig Geiger, historian, Breslau, b.
1894.—Wilhelm Freund, philologist and champion of emancipation, Breslau, d.

5.

1667.—Prof. Hottinger, investigator of inscriptions on Jewish tombstones and coins (drowned), d.
1763.—Abrah. Kisch, physician, teacher of Mendelssohn, Prague, d.
1768.—Slaughter in Uman, Russia, 8,000 Jews murdered.
1835.—Mattathia Zacuto killed with thirty-five persons in the collapse of a building in Alexandria.
1861.—Moses Frankfurt, called Mendelsohn, poet and translator, Hamburg, d.
1862.—E. Nathan, physician, translator, d.
1882.—Abraham de Sola, rabbi, Montreal, d.
1885.—Julius Benedikt, composer, convert, London, d.
1887.—Leo Holländer, Hungarian patriot, Eperies, d.
1892.—Jacob Fischel, alienist, Prague, d.

6.

840.—Agobard, Bishop of Lyons, anti-Jewish author, d.
1629.—Joseph Samega, theological author, Venice, d.
1818.—I. M. Rabbinowitz, physician and rabbinical author, b.
1838.—Juda Jeiteles, Hebrew writer, Prague, d.

7.

1651.—Abraham Rapoport, rabbi and author, Lemberg, d.
1744.—Meir Ashkenasi, rabbi and Talmudic author, Eisenstadt, d.
1817.—Jacob Saul Elyaschar, rabbi, Jerusalem, b.

1853.—Israel Deutsch, anti-Reform rabbi, Beuthen, d.
1867.—Angelo Paggi, Jewish writer, Florence, d.
1874.—Abraham Firkowitsch, famous Karaite, d.

8.

1779.—Joseph Franz Molitor, Catholic apologist for the Jews, Frankfort-on-M., b.
1815.—Act of Confederation guaranteed the rights of the Jews in the German Confederation.
1815.—Samuel Hirsch, philosopher of religion, b.
1818.—Fanny von Arnstein, society leader, d.
1837.—Chajim Mussafia, Talmudical author, Spalato, d.
1839.—Resolution for the admittance of Jews in Norway introduced in the Reichstag.

9.

1171.—Jacob ben Meir (Rabenu Tam) Tosaphist, d.
1794.—Julius Rubo, jurist in Berlin, b.
1869.—Solomon Kluger, rabbi and Talmudic author, Brody, d.
1891.—Samuel Adler, rabbi of Congregation Emanuel, New York, d.
1898.—Samuel Mohilewer, Zionistic leader, rabbi in Bialystok, d.
1900.—Leon Kahn, Jewish historian, Paris, d.

10.

1648.—Rabbi Michel killed in Nemirow by Cossacks.
1727.—Samson Modon, merchant, author, Mantua, d.
1729.—Abraham Isaak, author of a commentary to Maimonides, Jerusalem, d.
1789.—Eward Kley, Reform preacher of Hamburg, b.
1803.—Moritz von Goldschmidt, financier, Frankfort-on-M., b.
1813.—Bavarian edict on the Jews promulgated.
1846.—Heiman Joseph Michael, bibliophile, Hamburg, d.
1874.—Giuseppe Levi, author, Vercelli, d.

1883.—Simon von Winterstein, member of the Austrian House of Lords, d.
1895.—Martin Roeder, composer, New York, d.
1895.—M. Grünwald, rabbi in Sofia, London, d.

11.

1847.—Abraham Muhr, advocate of moderate reform, Breslau, d.
1868.—Lazar Horowitz, rabbi, Vienna, d.
1881.—Solomon Alex. Hart, painter, d.
1884.—Ad. Pollak von Rudin, manufacturer and philanthropist, Vienna, d.
1886.—James Gutheim, rabbi, New Orleans, d.

12.

1269.—Yellow Badge decreed in France.
1490.—Elijah Bashjazi, Karaitic author, d.
1773.—Anselm von Rothschild, Frankfort-on-M., b.
1844.—The Rabbinical Conference in Brunswick opened.
1875.—Isaac Ascoli, rabbi, Ferrara, d.

13.

1851.—Jos. Johlson, Jewish pedagogical author, Frankfort-on-M., d.
1884.—Moses Boris, Colonel in the French army, d.
1896.—Count Berchem Heimhausen, benefactor of the Jewish community, Kuttenplan, d.

14.

1804.—Isaac Euchel, biographer of Mendelssohn, Hebrew author, Berlin, d.
1821.—Chajim ben Isaac of Woloshin, founder of the famous "Yeshiba," d.
1827.—Prof. Gurlitt, friend of the Jews and versed in Jewish literature, Hamburg, d.

1897.—Barney Barnato, South African mine speculator (suicide), d.

15.

1831.—Meyer Friedmann, Talmudic critic, Haraszt, b.
1874.—Emil Roediger, reviser of Gesenius's Grammar, Berlin, d.
1888.—Emperor Frederick III., friend of the Jews, d.
1903.—Theodore Roosevelt, President United States, receives Jewish delegates in Kishineff affair.

16.

1221.—Twenty-one Jews put to death in Erfurt.
1244.—Twenty-four carloads of Hebrew books burned in Paris.
1591.—Joseph Sol. del Medigo, critic, Creta, b.
1836.—Prussian "Cabinets ordre" forbids Jews to adopt Christian names.
1849.—Prof. de Wette, author of the "Introduction to the Old Testament," d.
1851.—George Jellinek, jurist, Leipzig, b.
1883.—Ad. Samter, banker and writer on political economy, d.

17.

1802.—Herman Goldschmidt, painter and astronomer, Frankfort-on-M., b.
1829.—M. Kayserling, Jewish author and rabbi, Hildesheim, b.
1833.—Fedr. Frensdorff, jurist, professor, Hanover, b.
1839.—John Hacking, author of "Modern Judaism," d.
1844.—Hartwig Dérenbourg, Orientalist, Paris, b.
1883.—Meir Heimerdinger, justice of the District Court in Karlsruhe, d.
1898.—Moses Tedeschi, Hebrew literateur, Trieste, d.

18.

1750.—Johann Jahn, Catholic theologian, and exegete, b.
1831.—Edwin Oppler, architect, b.

1874.—Chr. G. N. David, Danish minister, d.
1890.—Monument of Mendelssohn unveiled in Dessau.
1891.—Calmann Levy, publisher, Paris, d.

19.

1790.—Saul Löwenstamm, rabbi, Amsterdam, d.
1843.—Ignaz Jeiteles, author, d.
1863.—Mordecai Zeeb Ettinger, rabbi and Talmudic author, Lemberg, d.
1890.—Max Brüll de Domony, great manufacturer, Budapest, d.

20.

1391.—Jews killed in Toledo.
1794.—Alois Jeiteles, writer, Brünn, b.
1808.—Samson Rafael Hirsch, founder of modern orthodoxy, Hamburg, b.
1823.—Law in Weimar permitting intermarriage of Jews and Christians.
1839.—Jacob Freudenthal, University professor, philosopher, Bodenfelde, b.
1865.—Isaac Berlin, author of commentary to the Machzor, Hamburg, d.
1883.—Bishop Colenso, Bible critic, d.
1893.—Benjamin Luzzatto, professor, Palermo, d.

21.

1819.—Jacob Offenbach, composer of operas, convert, Cologne, b.
1896.—L. A. Weiss, German poet, Meran, d.

22.

1770.—W. T. Krug, advocate of the Jews, Leipzig, b.
1850.—Ignaz Goldziher, Orientalist, Stuhlweissenburg, b.

23.

1270.—Martyrs killed in Weissenburg.
1785.—Arjeh Loeb, author of "Shaagat Arjeh," Metz, d.
1807.—Ferdinand Hitzig, Biblical exegete, b.
1813.—Solomon Dubno, Biurist, Amsterdam, d.
1839.—Lady Esther Stanhope, convert, d.
1858.—Abduction of Mortara.
1868.—Morris J. Raphall, American preacher, New York, d.
1881.—M. J. Schleiden, apologist of Judaism, d.
1891.—Meir Jona, Talmudic author, Svislotsch, d.
1901.—Charles K. Salamon, musician, London, d.

24.

1240.—Religious disputation in Paris.
1320.—Farmers and shepherds killed four hundred and ten people in Jacca.
1386.—John Capistrano, persecutor of the Jews, b.
1809.—Louis Loewe, secretary of Moses Montefiore, Zülz, b.
1897.—Sir John Simon, member of Parliament, d.

25.

1298.—Two hundred and fifty Jews killed in Rothenburg on the Tauber.
1771.—Chajim Rappoport, rabbi, Lemberg, d.
1827.—Prof. Eichhorn, biblical exegete, d.
1882.—Mich. H. Godefroi, Minister of Justice in Holland, d.
1886.—J. H. R. Biesenthal, missionary, convert, d.
1898.—Ferdinand Cohn, botanist, Breslau, d.
1902.—Sam. Edw. Shrimski, politician at Auckland, New Zealand, d.

26.

1570.—Moses Cordovero, Kabbalist, Safed, d.
1643.—Murder of Jews in Kremsier.

1715.—Wolf Beer Buchsbaum, physician, Frankfort-on-M., d.
1821.—Adolph Jellinek, chief rabbi of Vienna, b.
1831.—Julius Rodenberg, author, b.
1855.—Anton von Schmid, Hebrew publisher, Vienna, d.
1877.—Friedr. W. Ghillany, anti-semitic author, d.
1881.—Th. Benfey, Orientalist, convert, d.
1887.—Lionel Louis Cohen, M. P., London, d.

27.

1096.—The Jews were visited with hardships in Xanten.
1705.—Samuel of Opatow, medical author, d.
1714.—Loeb Abusch b. Simeon, Kabbalist, Metz, d.
1805.—Peter Theophil Riess, mathematician, first Jewish member of the Berlin Academy, Berlin, b.
1824.—Joseph Israels, Dutch painter, b.
1846.—Martin Philippson, historian and university professor, Magdeburg, b.
1886.—Chajim Sofer, rabbi and author, Budapest, d.
1893.—Nahum Cohen, Russian novelist, Jekaterinoslaw, d.

28.

1831.—Joseph Joachim, famous musician, b.
1831.—Otto Stobbe, author of a history of the Jews in Germany, b.
1894.—Moritz Traube, medical author, Berlin, d.

29.

1337.—Jechiel Hakohen, martyred in Erfurt.
1652.—Moses de Meccado, Bible exegete, d.
1654.—Balthasar Lopez, died as martyr, Cuenca.
1818.—Meyer Amschel Rothschild, member of Parliament, London, b.
1827.—Moses Belinfante, publisher of a Dutch paper, The Hague, d.

1852.—Aaron Moses Taubes, rabbi, Jassy, d.
1891.—Murder of a boy in Xanten, ritual murder accusation.
1901.—Edward Foa, African explorer, Villers sur mer, d.

30.

1271.—Bloody persecution in Pforzheim.
1522.—John Reuchlin, defender of Hebrew literature, d.
1676.—Aaron Samuel Kaidanower, Talmudic author, d.
1680.—Several Jews burned by Priests in Madrid.
1719.—Samuel Schotten, great-grandfather of Moses Sofer, Frankfort-on-M., d.
1821.—Siegmund von Henle, Bavarian politician, b.
1835.—Moritz Benedikt, university professor, physician, Eisenstadt, b.

VII.

JULY.

1.

1244.—Jews' statute, Frederick II. of Austria promulgated.
1298.—Elijah ben Samuel burnt at Rome.
1805.—Phineas Hurwitz, Haphlaah, rabbi at Frankfort-on-m., d.
1849.—S. Francolm, preacher and author, d.
1852.—Genrich A. Schapiro, Russian physician and professor, b.
1861.—Bernhard Beer, Jewish author, Dresden, d.
1878.—The Congress of Berlin enforces political equality of Roumanian Jews.

2.

1453.—Alvaro de Luna, Spanish statesman beheaded.
1805.—Joseph v. Hirsch, financier, father of Moritz v. Hirsch, b.
1812.—Sigism. Stern, pedagogue and Reform author, Karge, b.
1828.—Joseph Unger, Austrian jurist and statesman, convert, Vienna, b.
1833.—Francis H. Goldsmid, first Jew in England admitted to the bar.
1863.—Isaak Benjacob, bibliographer, Wilna, d.
1871.—Anglo-Jewish association founded.

3.

1840.—Mansion House assembly protests against Damascus affair.
1844.—Dankmar Adler, architect, Stadt Lengsfeld, b.
1867.—Jacob Löbl, philanthropist, Bucharest, d.
1869.—Religious freedom proclaimed in Germany.
1904.—Theodor Herzl, Zionist leader, d.

4.

1349.—Jehudah ben Asher, Talmudist, Toledo, d.
1632.—Isabella Nunes Alvarez, Madrid, burned.
1842.—Hermann Cohen, philosopher, professor, b.
1843.—Michael Beer, author, Nancy, d.

5.

1628.—Hendel Bassewi, benefactress, Prague, d.
1832.—Ludwig Robert, poet, Baden-Baden, d.
1852.—Barney Barnato, South African mine-owner, London, b.
1853.—Isaac Levin Auerbach, preacher, Breslau, d.
1857.—Baron David Günzburg, Jewish scholar, b.
1894.—Betty Paoli (Glück), poetess, convert, d.

6.

1348.—In Tarega, Spain, over three hundred people killed.
1624.—Hirsch Luntschütz Darshan, Prague, d.
1707.—Samuel ben Alexander, mathematician, d.
1723.—Senora Alvarez burnt.
1743.—Chajim ibn Attar, Talmudic writer, Jerusalem, d.
1821.—Leone Levi, political economist, b.
1842.—Nehemias Trebitsch, chief rabbi of Moravia, d.
1846.—David H. Mueller, Orientalist, Buczacz, b.
1882.—Samuel E. Meyer, rabbi, Hanover, d.
1898.—Cornelius Herz, known through the Panama affair, d.
1899.—David Kaufmann, professor Budapest Seminary, Karlsbad, d.
1900.—Gustav Born, professor, Breslau, d.

7.

1754.—Aaron Worms, Talmudic author, b.
1806.—Isaac Daniel Itzig, communal leader, Berlin, d.
1836.—Imperial decree demands of the rabbis in Galicia secular education.

1863.—Edward Fischel, journalist, Paris, d.
1889.—Elias Karpeles, rabbi and author, Vienna, d.
1891.—Ludwig Chronegk, German actor, d.
1894.—Sir Henry Bayard, Assyriologist, d.

8.

1690.—Aaron Teomim, rabbi at Worms and Cracow, d.
1810.—G. G. Valentin, physiologist, professor at Berne, b.
1824.—K. W. Wisotzki, Russian philanthropist, b.
1831.—Seligmann Heller, poet, Raudnitz, b.
1852.—Moses Benedict, banker and philanthropist, Stuttgart, d.
1863.—A. B. Piperno, Hebrew poet, Leghorn, d.
1894.—Aug. Dillmann, exegete, Berlin, d.

9.

1391.—Jews murdered in Valencia.
1639.—Joseph di Trani, Talmudic author, Constantinople, d.
1667.—Abraham Athias, burned at Cordova.
1730.—Berman Halberstadt, Berent Lehmann, court Jew, d.
1749.—Ezekiel Katzenelnbogen, rabbi, Altona, d.
1791.—Samuel Sar Shalom Finzi, preacher, Ferara, d.
1825.—Julius Oppert, Orientalist, Hamburg, b.
1871.—Lelio della Torre, professor in the seminary, Padua, d.
1890.—Immanuel Ritter, preacher of the Reform Cong., Berlin, d.
1893.—Israel Joshua, rabbi and Talmudic author, Kutno, d.
1902.—Marcus Antokolski, Russian sculptor, Homburg, d.

10.

1773.—Meir Teomim, rabbi, Lemberg, d.
1787.—John Emanuel Veith, convert, famous Catholic preacher, Kuttenplan, b.
1818.—Joseph Meyer, professor in medicine, Stralsund, b.
1874.—Giuseppe Levi, translator of the Talmudic Fables, Vercelli, d.

11.

1605.—Abraham Gawison, Hebrew poet, Algiers, d.
1622.—Abraham ben David, Talmudic author, Lemberg, d.
1865.—Elias H. Lindo, Jewish historian, London, d.

12.

1753.—Moses Dobruska, poet, convert, Brünn, b.
1814.—Law regarding Isr. Kerkgenootschap issued, Holland.
1845.—Hen. Wergeland, champion of Jewish rights in Norway, d.
1880.—Isaac Péreire, French financier, Armainvilliers, d.
1896.—Moritz Kirstein, communal leader, physician, Berlin, d.
1899.—Israel Hildesheimer, President of the orthodox seminary, Berlin, d.
1900.—Joseph Oppenheim, journalist, political economist, Vienna, d.

13.

1105.—Solomon Isaaki, Rashi, d.
1788.—Isaac Formegini, advocate of secular education, Trieste, d.
1816.—Gustav Freytag, German poet, writer of Jewish characters, b.
1843.—Rhenish states petition for the emancipation of the Jews.
1846.—Opening of the Rabbinical Conference at Breslau.

14.

1683.—Nathan Nata ben Moses, murdered at Ungarisch Brod.
1748.—Queen Maria Theresa repeals the order for the expulsion of the Jews from Bohemia.
1785.—Mordecai M. Noah, the first Zionist, Philadelphia, b.
1818.—Wolf Boskowitz (Löw), rabbi and Talmudic author, Bonyhad, d.
1835.—Leo Lewanda, Russian Jewish writer, b.
1851.—August Neander (David Mendel), church historian, d.
1862.—Ludwig Fulda, poet, Frankfort-on-M., b.

1863.—Political equality of the Jews of Holstein promulgated.
1899.—Jeanette Schwerin, champion of the rights of women, d.

15.

1572.—Isaac Luria, Kabbalist, d.
1811.—Moses Wassermann, rabbi, Stuttgart, b.
1841.—Jacob Kaplan, Hebrew author, d.
1843.—Louis Marcus, archaeologist, Paris, d.
1845.—Rabbinical Conference at Frankfort-on-M. opened.
1900.—S. Kristeller, communal leader, Berlin, d.
1901.—Ferd. Caspary, mathematician, Berlin, d.

16.

1829.—G. I. Ascoli, philologist, Trieste, b.
1836.—Isidor Rosenthal, physiologist, b.
1891.—Lewin Goldschmidt, professor, jurist, Berlin, d.
1900.—I. Brasch, painter, d.

17.

1349.—Jews burned at Meiningen.
1728.—Ephraim Kohen, rabbi, Modena, d.
1793.—Ludwig van Meseritz, Dutch statesman, b.
1831.—Meir Polak, grammarian, Amsterdam, d.
1840.—Isaac Leonini Azulay, Spanish poet, London, d.
1841.—Moses Teitelbaum, Chassidic rabbi, S. A., Ujhely, d.

18.

1255.—Moses Abulafia ben Meir Halevi, physician, Toledo, d.
1775.—Karl v. Rotteck, historian and anti-semite, b.
1819.—Jeh. Behak, Talmudic author, d.
1836.—Nathan Rothschild, founder of the London house, d.
1873.—David Salamons, champion of the civil rights of the Jews in England, d.
1889.—Wolf Frankenburger, Bavarian politician, Nuremberg, d.

19.

1263.—Disputation at Barcelona.
1510.—Thirty-eight martyrs burned in Berlin.

20.

1633.—Nathan Nata Spira, rabbi and author, Cracow, d.
1722.—Jehuda Briel, Italian author, d.
1779.—David Fränkel, editor of Sulamith, b.
1801.—Bernhard Beer, Jewish author, Dresden, b.
1808.—Napoleon's decree regarding the Jews.
1819.—H. B. Oppenheim, German politician and political economist, b.
1822.—Jacob Landau, son of Ezekiel, Brody, d.
1832.—A. L. Davids, author of a Turkish grammar, London, d.

21.

1498.—Decree concerning the expulsion of the Jews from Nuremberg promulgated.
1718.—Shabbetai Bass, publisher and author, d.
1805.—Jisai Berr Bing, champion of the emancipation of the Jews in France, d.
1821.—Julius von Reuter, founder of the telegraph bureau, convert, Kassel, b.
1841.—A. S. Levy, mathematician, Paris, d.
1846.—Benedict Schott, principal of the Jacobson school, d.
1901.—Isaac Mautner, manufacturer, Nachod, d.

22.

1209.—A day of trouble for the Jews in France.
1306.—A day of trouble for the Jews in France.
1798.—Meir Schiff, Talmudical author, d.
1810.—Abraham Abrahamson, engraver, Berlin, d.
1817.—Lazare Wogue, theological writer, b.

1823.—Ludwig Bamberger, member of the Reichstag, b.
1885.—David Honigman, novelist, Breslau, d.
1890.—Moritz Duschak, rabbi and author, Vienna, d.
1895.—Rudolph Gneist, defender of Jewish rights, d.

23.

1298.—Massacre of the Jews in Würzburg.
1626.—Shabbetai Zebi, pseudo-Messiah, b.
1832.—Ad. Pollitzer, musician, b.
1847.—Prussian law referring to the Jews issued.
1854.—Leopold Dick, painter, Kaiserlautern, d.
1885.—U. S. Grant, President of the United States, known by an anti-Jewish order, d.
1892.—Captain Meyer, victim of anti-semitism, died in duel.
1903.—Benj. Leop. Farjeon, English novelist, d.

24.

1636.—Elijah Loans, Hebrew author, d.
1716.—Massacre of Jews in Posen.
1894.—Rabbi Goldmann, Eschwege, d.

25.

1196.—Jews killed in Lyons.
1644.—Jews burnt in Valladolid.
1644.—Alarcon, a proselyte, burned in Valladolid.
1739.—John. Chr. Wolf, bibliographer, d.
1818.—Alb. Sassoon, financier, Bombay, b.
1840.—Jacob Lazard, member of Sanhedrin under Napoleon I., d.
1880.—Moses Lattes, Jewish historian, d.
1894.—Isidor Cohnstein, writer on medicine, Berlin, d.
1900.—J. Levitan, painter, Moscow, d.

26.

1799.—O. L. B. Wolff, poet, convert, Altona, b.
1806.—Assembly of Jewish notables opened in Paris.

1815.—Robert Remak, medical professor, Posen, b.
1844.—Karl Streckfuss, writer on Jewish emancipation, d.
1856.—Eiseck Gräber, Hebrew author, b.
1858.—Lionel Rothschild, admitted into the English Parliament.
1887.—Lionel Louis Cohen, M. P., London, d.
1893.—Paul d' Abrest (Cohn), writer, d.
1894.—Ed. Tauwitz, composer, Prague, d.

27.

1656.—Spinoza excommunicated.
1671.—Abraham Fonseca, rabbinical author, Hamburg, d.
1782.—Jacob Chasak, Hebrew author, Padua, d.
1808.—S. Formstecher, rabbi, Offenbach, b.
1825.—Jacob Salomon Bartholdy, diplomat, convert, d.
1840.—Edward Arbib, Italian politician and writer, Florence, d.
1855.—Solomon von Rothschild, financier, Vienna, d.
1870.—Hermann Hersch, dramatist, Berlin, d.
1874.—Anselm Solomon von Rothschild, financier, Vienna, d.

28.

1639.—Aaron Berechya, writer on liturgy, Modena, d.
1789.—Meir Barby, rabbi, Presburg, d.
1858.—Benoit Fould, French politician, d.
1876.—Prussian "Austrittsgesetz" issued.
1883.—Ad. Ginsberg, painter, d.
1885.—Moses Montefiore, the great philanthropist, d.
1899.—Emil Breslaur, composer, Berlin, d.

29.

1384.—200 Jews killed in Nördlingen.
1612.—Abraham de Portaleone, Talmudic author, d.
1829.—Chajim N. Dembitzer, Jewish historian, Cracow, b.
1849.—Max Nordau, writer and Zionistic leader, b.

1893.—Julius Aronius, historian, d.
1895.—Jos. Dérembourg, Orientalist, d.
1900.—Prince Urusow, champion of the Russian Jews, d.

30.

1576.—Moses Provenzale, rabbinical author, Mantua, d.
1836.—Gust. Oppert, philologist, Hamburg, b.
1895.—Otto von Bismarck, German Chancellor and somewhat of an anti-semite, d.

31.

1840.—Nachman Krochmal, Hebrew author, d.
1876.—Joachim L. Lederer, poet, d.
1886.—Solomon Ganzfried, rabbinical author, Unghvar, d.

VIII.

AUGUST.

1.

1298.—Massacre in Nürenberg, in which the Talmudic author, Mordecai ben Hillel, and the liturgical poet, Abraham ben Joseph, were slain.
1641.—Charter (Schutzbrief) issued by which the congregation of Altona was founded.
1789.—Abraham Isaac Castello, poet and preacher, Leghorn, d.
1811.—A decree against usury, aimed at the Jews, issued in Saxony.
1857.—Abraham Danon, president of the rabbinical seminary in Constantinople, b.
1875.—Samuel Meyer, rabbi and author, d.
1887.—Isaac Margolis, Hebrew author, New York, d.
1903.—Immanuel Munk, physiologist, Berlin, d.

2.

1371.—Three hundred Jews killed in Mallorca.
1492.—Emigration of the Jews from Spain.
1579.—Don Joseph Nasi, Duke of Naxos, Constantinople, d.
1675.—Portuguese synagogue dedicated in Amsterdam.
1784.—Simcha Calimani, rabbi and author, Venice, d.
1794.—Nathan Maass, rabbi, Frankfort-on-M., d.
1803.—Moses Bruck (Brück) reform author, Mähr Weisskirchen, b.
1819.—Riots against the Jews at Würzburg.

3.

1603.—Tamar Barocas and Diego de lá Ascension, burnt by Inquisition at Lisbon.
1830.—Moses Joseph Spiro, rabbi and Talmudic author, Kanitz, Moravia, d.
1836.—Carl Asser, statesman, Dutch Council (Staatsrath), Amsterdam, d.
1839.—Dorothea Schlegel, daughter of Moses Mendelssohn, d.
1890.—Emil Levy, artist, Paris, d.
1891.—Leopold Dukes, Jewish author, Vienna, d.
1903.—Adolph Landau, editor of the "Woschod," Berlin, d.

4.

70.—Temple burnt at Jerusalem.
1724.—Samson Wertheimer, charitable "Hofjude," Vienna, d.
1817.—Max Ring, German poet, Zauditz, d.
1828.—Ephraim Salman Margulies, rabbinical author, Brody, d.
1842.—Isaac Hartvig, philanthropist, Hamburg, d.
1891.—Salvatore de Benedette, professor and Italian Jewish author, Pisa, d.

5.

1391.—Massacre of Jews at Barcelona.
1620.—Menahem Azariah da Fano, Talmudical and Cabbalistic author, Pisa, d.
1784.—Isaac Samuel Reggio, Hebrew writer, Gorice, b.
1820.—Meyer Carl v. Rothschild, member of German Reichstag, Frankfort-on-M., b.
1831.—Joseph Veit, Hebrew author, Berlin, d.
1839.—Jacob Ornstein, rabbi and Talmudical author, Lemberg, d.
1842.—Michael Creizenach, Reform writer, Frankfort-on-M., d.
1865.—Naphtali Keller, Hebrew author, Roznau, d.
1889.—Fanny Lewald, novelist, convert, Dresden, d.

6.

1243.—Massacre of Jews at Kitzingen.
1775.—Daniel O'Connell, champion of the Jews, Ireland, b.
1787.—Solomon L. Steinheim, M. D., and author, Altona, b.
1799.—Marcus Eliezer Bloch, ichthyologist, Karlsbad, d.

7.

1776.—Joseph Steinhart, rabbi and Talmudic author, Fürth, d.
1839.—Bernhard Freiherr v. Eskeles, banker, Vienna, d.
1868.—S. Rosenthal, bibliophile, Hanover, d.
1885.—Baron Jacob Treves, financier and benefactor, Venice, d.
1887.—Edward Goldstein, musician, Leipzig, d.
1898.—George Ebers, novelist, descendant of Veitel Heine Ephraim, d.

8.

1820.—Julius Stern, composer, Breslau, b.
1886.—Gedalja Tiktin, rabbi, Breslau, d.

9.

1821.—Heinrich Landesman, author (Hieronymus Lorm), Nikolsburg, b.
1826.—Meir Kurnik, chronologist, Hamburg, d.
1827.—Mendel Hess, reformer, rabbi at Lengsfeld, d.
1902.—Moritz Szeps, editor, Vienna, d.

10.

1728.—Jehuda Mazliach Padova, rabbi Modena, d.
1794.—Leopold Zunz, Detmold, b.
1810.—Simon Bloch, founder of "Univers Israelite," b.
1819.—Julius Landsberger, rabbi and author, b.
1843.—Jacob Fr. Fries, professor at Jena, anti-semite, d.
1851.—H. E. G. Paulus, rationalistic theologian and anti-semite, d.

1861.—Frederick Julius Stahl, conservative politician and convert, d.
1893.—Naphtali Zebi Jehuda Berlin, President of the "Jeshiba" at Woloshin, d.

11.

1667.—Jonah Abravanel, poet, Amsterdam, d.

12.

1807.—Michael Levy, industrial leader and Hebraist, b.
1825.—Moses Mielziner, writer on Jewish subjects, Schubin, b.
1829.—Marcus Benedict, chief rabbi of Moravia, Karlsbad, d.
1855.—Eleazar Morpurgo, Hebrew translator, Venice, d.
1900.—William Steinitz, chess player, New York, d.

13.

1453.—Saint Capistrano had Jews burnt at Schweidnitz and Liegnitz.
1831.—Solomon Jadassohn, musical writer, Breslau, b.
1851.—Felix Adler, founder of ethical culture society, Alzey, b.
1865.—William Wolfson, poet, Dresden, d.
1890.—N. N. Coronel, publisher of rabbinical works, d.
1900.—Wladimir Solowjew, advocate of the Russian Jews, d.
1902.—Eduard Halban, Austrian statesman (Blumenstock), convert, Gastein, d.

14.

1779.—Nehemiah Trebitsch, chief rabbi of Moravia, Prague, b.
1814.—Maier Zipser, Hungarian rabbi and author, b.

15.

1762.—Moses Frankfurt, publisher of the rabbinical Bible, Amsterdam, d.
1831.—Moses Münz, rabbi and Talmudical author, Altofen, d.
1838.—Moses Moser, Heine's friend, Lippehne, d.

1853.—Basilius (Bezalel) Stern, pedagogue, Odessa, d.
1887.—Meier Aaron Goldschmidt, Danish ghetto novelist, d.

16.

1599.—Isaac Menahem ben Isaac, rabbi and author, Cracow, d.
1648.—Joshua ben Joseph, rabbinical author, Cracow, d.
1664.—John Buxtorf, Jr., learned Christian Hebraist, Basel, d.
1816.—John Jahn, rationalistic Catholic exegete, d.
1838.—Laws regulating the condition of the Jews issued in Saxony.
1840.—Herman Shapira, mathematician, b.
1842.—Jacob Rosanes, German mathematician, Brody, b.
1843.—Jacob Epstein, philanthropist, Warsaw, d.
1868.—Reuben Wunderbar, pedagogue and author, Mitau, d.

17.

1550.—Meshullam Horowitz, builder of "Pinkas Synagogue," Prague, d.
1786.—Frederick the Great, freethinker and anti-semite, Potsdam, d.
1901.—Leonard Sachs, son of Michael Sachs, communal worker, Berlin, d.
1902.—Sal. Jehuda Sachs, Russian manufacturer and Maecenas of Jewish literature, Homburg, d.

18.

1882.—Jacob Leon Wertheim, Dutch poet, d.
1892.—Elise Henle, German poetess, d.

19.

1654.—Lipman Heller, "Tausves Yontew," Cracow, d.
1800.—Michael Beer, German poet, Berlin, b.
1800.—Wolf Davidson, playwright, Berlin, d.
1872.—Carl Feust, prominent attorney, Bavaria, d.

1888.—Meyer Isler, historian, Hamburg, d.
1900.—Emilie Ludwig (Levy), juvenile writer, Berlin, d.

20.

1153.—Bernhard of Clairveaux, defender of Jews against the Crusaders, d.
1820.—Ferdinand Falkson, M. D., and writer, Königsberg, b.

21.

1802.—Hirsch B. Fassel, rabbi and author, Boscowitz, b.
1811.—Joseph Derenbourg, Orientalist, Mayence, b.
1852.—Marchand Ennery, Grand Rabbin of France, Paris, d.
1868.—Hirsch Eisenstadt, author of "Pitche Teshuba," d.
1872.—David Calisch, humorist, Berlin, d.
1893.—Law prohibiting the Shechitah passed in Switzerland.

22.

1400.—Massacre of Jews at Prague. Seventy-seven Jews killed.
1484.—Jews at Tyrnau burnt.
1694.—Samuel Aboab, rabbi and Talmudical author, Venice, d.
1718.—Samuel David Ottelengo, rabbi and author, Padua, d.
1791.—John David Michaelis, Christian Hebraist, Göttingen, d.
1800.—Sam. D. Luzzatto, prominent Jewish scholar, Trieste, b.
1853.—Abraham Belais, "Hacham" and author, London, d.
1860.—Solomon Friedländer, Reform rabbi, Chicago, d.
1860.—Samuel Holdheim, leader of radical Reform, Berlin, d.
1863.—Joseph Levin Saalschütz, preacher and professor, Königsberg, d.
1903.—Joseph Josephson, Hebrew author, Paris, d.

23.

1349.—Massacre of Jews at Mayence.
1773.—Jacob F. Fries, professor and anti-semitic author, b.

1799.—Kopel Theben, leader of Hungarian orthodoxy, Prague, d.
1805.—Anton v. Schmerling, liberal Austrian statesman and somewhat of an anti-semite, b.
1808.—J. L. Lederer, dramatist, Prague, b.
1819.—Simon Szanto, prominent journalist, b.
1885.—Marcus M. Kalisch, writer of an English commentary on the Pentateuch, d.
1887.—P. F. Frankl, rabbi at Berlin, and scientific author, d.

24.

1424.—Jews banished from Cologne.
1811.—Herz Homberg, "Biurist," Prague, d.
1844.—Aaron Chorin, first Reform rabbi, Arad, d.
1886.—Wolf Landau, rabbi, Dresden, d.
1900.—Elchanan Verveer, artist, The Hague, d.

25.

1613.—David Gans, Jewish historian, Prague, d.
1744.—J. G. Herder, lover of Hebrew poetry, b.
1798.—Henrik Herz, Danish poet, b.
1867.—Levi Bodenheimer, rabbi and author, Krefeld, d.
1886.—Ludwig Todesco, delegate to Bohemian Landtag, Prague, d.
1895.—A. Wiener, rabbi and author, d.
1900.—Ch. D. Lippe, bibliographer, Vienna, d.
1900.—Fr. Wilh. Nietzsche, philosopher, opponent of anti-semitism, d.
1903.—Jacques Nissim Pasha, Turkish surgeon-general, Salonica, d.

26.

1800.—Hirschel Levin, rabbi, Berlin, d.
1828.—Otto Henne am Rhyn, anti-semitic writer on History of Culture, b.
1853.—Meno Burg, Prussian major, Berlin, d.

27.

1816.—Alex. Zederbaum, Hebrew author, b.
1887.—Charles Wiener, engraver, Brussels, d.

28.

1766.—Simon v. Lämmel, financier, Tuschkau, b.
1799.—Immanuel Wohlwill, pedagogue and writer, Harzgerode, b.
1883.—Solomon Plessner, leader of Neo-Orthodoxy, Posen, d.

29.

1339.—Abraham ibn Shoshan, Talmudical writer, Toledo, d.
1435.—Paulus, Bishop of Burgos, hater of the Jews, convert, d.
1729.—Moses Benjamin Wulff, court Jew at Dessau, d.
1843.—Ludwig Levin Jacobson, physician, Copenhagen, d.
1855.—Isaac Samuel Reggio, Görz, d.
1865.—Robert Remak, physician and professor at Berlin, Kissingen, d.
1870.—Lazarus Geiger, prominent philologist, Frankfort-on-M., d.
1882.—Fr. Ad. Philippi, convert, orthodox Lutheran theologian, d.
1885.—Bernhard Horwitz, Chess player, d.
1897.—First Zionist Congress held at Basil.
1900.—Sir Saul Samuel, Austrian politician, London, d.

30.

1658.—Zebi Ashkenasi, Chacham Zebi, b.
1813.—David Anschel Meyer, Danish patriot, Copenhagen, d.
1829.—G. Adersbach, physician and Jewish poet, New Orleans, d.
1866.—Hermann Goldschmidt, painter and astronomer, Fontainebleau, d.
1882.—Abraham Stein, preacher and author, Prague, d.
1889.—Gustav Weil, Orientalist, Freiburg, Breisgau, d.

31.

1673.—Chtjim Benvenisti, rabbi and Talmudic author, Smyrna, d.
1864.—Ferdinand Lasalle, socialistic agitator, Geneva, d.
1886.—Franz Liszt, pianist, anti-semite, Bayreuth, d.
1900.—Ferdinand Falkson, Königsberg, d. (See August 20.)

IX.

SEPTEMBER.

1.

1614.—Fettmilch's uprising against the Jews in Frankfort-on-M.
1761.—H. E. G. Paulus, rationalistic theologian and anti-semite, b.
1833.—A. Asher, translator of Benjamin of Tudela, Venice, d.
1876.—F. Lebrecht, Jewish scholar, Berlin, d.
1903.—Bernard Lazare, champion of Judaism against anti-semitism, Paris, d.

2.

1788.—Isaac Baer Loewinsohn, leader in culture movement among Jews in Russia, Kremenitz, b.
1795.—Emancipation of the Jews in Holland.
1807.—Hirsch Zamosz, rabbi and Talmudic author, Altona, d.
1825.—Corner-stone of M. M. Noah's Jewish state laid at Buffalo.
1831.—Daniel L. Lessmann, German poet, convert (suicide), d.
1898.—Moses Angel, principal of the Jews' free school, London, d.

3.

1582.—Isaac Spira, father-in-law of Meir Lublin, Cracow, d.
1658.—Oliver Cromwell, friend of the Jews, d.
1814.—J. J. Sylvester, English mathematician, b.
1883.—Leon Halévy, French Literateur, d.
1889.—Joseph von Weilen, dramatic author, convert, Vienna, d.

4.

1788.—Samuel Iesi, engraver, Correggio, b.
1808.—Michael Sachs, rabbi and author, Gross Glogau, b.
1843.—B. L. Ullmann, translator of the Koran, rabbi, Crefeld, d.

1878.—Sol. Geiger, Abraham Geiger's orthodox brother, Frankfort-on-M., d.

5.

1629.—Jehuda Saltaro da Fano, Talmudic author, Venice, d.
1764.—Henrietta Herz, leader of the Berlin "Salon," b.
1818.—Joseph Haltern, translator into Hebrew, Berlin, d.
1829.—Hillel Noah Maggid Steinschneider, Jewish historian, Schnirpschak, b.
1853.—George Depping, Jewish historian, d.
1858.—W. G. Saphir, satirist, convert, d.
1888.—Raphael Kirchheim, scholar and author, Frankfort-on-M., d.
1902.—Rudolf Virchow, opponent of anti-semitism, Berlin, d.

6.

1713.—Hirsch Spitz, Talmudic author, Worms, d.
1781.—Solomon Salem, rabbi in Amsterdam, d.
1783.—Wolf Nathan, writer of exegetical works, d.
1848.—Abraham Kohn, rabbi in Lemberg, poisoned.
1880.—Edward Oppler, architect, d.
1888.—Jacob Neuschotz, philanthropist, Jassy, d.
1898.—Simon Fubini, professor and medical author, Turin, d.
1902.—Albert Fränkel, editor of the "Gartenlaube," Leipzig, d.

7.

1677.—Francis Haselbauer, Jesuit missionary and censor, Frauenberg, b.
1814.—Ludwig Kalisch, humorous writer, Lissa, d.
1882.—David Joel, "Seminarrabbiner," Breslau, d.
1891.—Hirsch Graetz, historian, Munich, d.
1893.—Alex. Zederbaum, Hebrew editor, St. Petersburg, d.

8.

1560.—Eight living Jews and a corpse burnt in Murcia.
1861.—Jacob Leon Aronsohn, University professor, Strassburg, d.

9.

1774.—Solomon von Rothschild, Frankfort-on-M., b.
1809.—Bruno Bauer, radical theologian and anti-semite, b.
1845.—Ignatz Acsady, Hungarian historian, b.
1851.—L. Weyl, humorous writer, Berlin, d.
1861.—Samuel Romanin, historian, Venice, d.
1894.—Brugsch Pasha, Egyptologist, d.
1899.—Dreyfus condemned for a second time.

10.

1671.—Berlin congregation founded.
1676.—Shabbethai Zebi, the pseudo-Messiah, d.
1691.—Edw. Pococke, Christian Hebraist, d.

11.

1400.—Three Jews burnt in Prague.
1823.—David Ricardo, member of Parliament, and political economist, convert, d.
1860.—Siegfried Hirsch, convert, historian, anti-semite, d.
1886.—Ludwig Löwe, member of the Reichstag, d.
1893.—Opening of the Parliament of Religions in Chicago.

12.

1597.—First place of worship opened in Amsterdam.
1695.—Jacob Abendana, chacham and Talmudic author, London, d.
1736.—David Oppenheimer, owner of the famous library, Prague, d.
1812.—Reuben Wunderbar, Jewish author, Mitau, b.

1820.—Abraham Danziger, author of popular ritualistic works, Wilna, d.
1903.—Fabian Jolles, Hebrew author, Vienna, d.

13.

1647.—De Castro Tartas, Lisbon, burnt at the stake.
1690.—Meir Grotwohl, rabbi, Koblenz, d.
1721.—Emanuel Oppenheimer, banker, Vienna, d.
1783.—Ignaz Jeiteles, author, Prague, b.
1813.—Joseph Eötvos, advocate of Jewish emancipation, b.
1828.—Israel Jacobson, philanthropist, Berlin, d.
1847.—Isaac Löb Wormser, the "Baal Shem" of Michelstadt, d.
1883.—Abraham Jacob (Friedmann), wonder-rabbi, Sadagora, d.

14.

1427.—Jacob Halevi, "Maharil," Worms, d.
1792.—August Lewald, author, convert, Königsberg, b.
1903.—Massacre in Homel, b.

15.

1746.—Solomon Hanau, Hebrew grammarian, Hanover, d.
1758.—Akiba Eger the elder, rabbi and Talmudic author, Pressburg, d.
1780.—Roderiguez Pereira, teacher of the deaf and dumb, Paris, d.
1780.—Jonas Daniel Meyer, jurist, Arnheim, b.
1824.—Moriz Lazarus, philosopher, Filehne, b.
1834.—Heinrich von Treitschke, historian and anti-semite, b.

16.

1390.—King Wenzel annuls debts due to Jews.
1498.—Thomas Torquemada, grand inquisitor, d.
1747.—Joh. Ludw. Ewald, evangelical pastor, advocate of Jewish emancipation, b.

1777.—Nathan von Rothschild, founder of the London house of Rothschild, b.
1843.—Ezekiel Hart, Canadian politician, d.
1847.—Grace Aguilar, English poetess, Frankfort-on-M., d.
1851.—O. L. B. Wolff, poet, "Improvisator," convert, Jena, d.
1860.—Solomon J. Solomon, artist, London, b.
1884.—Jacob Nathansohn, medical author, Warsaw, d.
1888.—Lazare Isidor, chief rabbi of France, d.
1895.—Moriz Brasch, philosophic writer, d.

17.

1394.—Order issued to exile Jews from France.
1485.—Peter Arbues the "Saint," blind inquisitor, d.
1609.—Löwe ben Bezalel, rabbi and author, Prague, d.
1800.—Nathan Adler, mystic, Frankfort-on-M., d.
1832.—Carl Störck, professor of medicine, Ofen, b.
1835.—Ernst R. Rosenmüller, learned exegete, d.
1855.—Moses Mocatta, Jewish author, London, d.

18.

1610.—Hendel ben Shemarya, rabbinical author, Lemberg, d.
1693.—Jacob Zahalon, rabbi and medical author, Fenara, d.
1764.—Jonathan Eybeschütz, rabbi and author, Altona, d.
1824.—Jacob Bernays, philologist, Hamburg, b.
1879.—Meir Leibush Malbim, celebrated rabbinical author, Kiew, d.
1890.—Benjamin Peixotto, American diplomat, New York, d.
1903.—Eugene Merzbacher, author on numismatics, Munich, d.

19.

1495.—Isaac Stein, rabbinical author, Ratisbon, d.
1659.—Israel and Tobias, martyred in Rushony.
1666.—Jacob Cansino, author, Oran, d.
1781.—Poll-tax abolished in Austria.
1812.—Maier Rothschild, founder of the house, Frankfort-on-M., d.

1820.—Bezalel Ranschburg (called Daniel Rosenbaum), Talmudic author, Prague, d.
1825.—Edward Horn (Ignaz Einhorn), Hungarian statesman, Waag-Neustadtl, b.
1827.—Leo Herzberg-Fränkel, ghetto poet, Brody, b.
1860.—Israel Lipschitz, rabbi and commentator of the Mishna, Danzig, d.
1866.—Jehuda Scherschewsky, teacher at the rabbinical school at Wilna, Kowno, d.
1892.—Leon Gordon, Neo-Hebraic poet, d.
1899.—Von Scheurer-Kestner, champion of Dreyfus, d.
1899.—Charles Daly, historian of the American Jews, New York, d.
1902.—Isaac Rülf, rabbi, author and philanthropist, Bonn, d.

20.

1487.—Gedaliah Jachia, Jewish author, Constantinople, d.
1788.—Karl Streckfuss, apologist of the Jews, but of anti-semitic leanings, b.
1816.—Hirsch Horowitz, rabbi and Talmudic author, Frankfort-on-M., d.
1826.—Immanuel Cappadoce, leader in Jewish congregational life, Amsterdam, d.
1870.—Ghetto in Rome abolished.

21.

1666.—Shabbetai Zebi, converted to Islam.
1758.—Sylvester de Sacy, Orientalist and friend of the Jews, b.
1771.—Joseph Samuel Frey, converted American Jewish missionary, Maynstockheim, b.
1823.—Julius von Gomperz, Austrian Peer, Brünn, b.
1871.—Mendel Hess, radical Reform rabbi, Eisenach, d.
1895.—David Segre, Italian ambassador to Peru, d.

22.

1575.—Meir Parenzo, publisher of Hebrew works, Venice, d.
1769.—Abraham Lissa, rabbi, Frankfort-on-M., d.
1807.—Gottlieb Schmelkes, physician and author, Prague, b.
1808.—Abraham Abele Kohen of Pinczow, rabbinical author, d.
1817.—Hermann von Zeissl, medical professor, Vierzighuben, b.
1842.—Fr. Cerfberr, French consul in America, at sea, d.
1862.—Heimann Arnheim, Jewish author, Glogau, d.
1896.—Saul Kowner, Russian medical and philosophical author, d.
1902.—Sol. Cohen, chief rabbi of Mecklenburg, Breslau, d.
1903.—Enrico Guastalla, Italian patriot, Milan, d.

23.

1756.—Franz Haselbauer, Prague (see Sept. 7).
1884.—Hermann von Zeissl, University professor, Vienna, d.

24.

1762.—Moses Sofer, rabbinical author, Frankfort-on-M., b.
1814.—Albert Cohn, Orientalist and philanthropist, Pressburg, b.
1841.—Abraham Basch, Neo-Hebraic author, Berlin, d.
1862.—Judith, wife of Moses Montefiore, d.
1880.—Oswald Hönigsmann, Galician politician, d.

25.

467.—Mar bar Rab Ashe, head of school in Babylonia, d.
1809.—Meshullam v. Joel Hakohen, Talmudical author, Lemberg, d.
1812.—Carl Biederman, Christian, advocate of Jewish emancipation, Leipzig, b.
1812.—Isaac Raphael Finzi, member of the Parisian Sanhedrin, Padua, d.

1885.—Isaac Kromczyk, Polish Jewish author, Warsaw, d.
1887.—Joseph Meyer, physician, University professor, Berlin, d.
1893.—Elias Grünebaum, rabbi, Landau, d.
1900.—Louis Ratisbonne, author, Paris, d.

26.

1729.—Moses Mendelssohn, Dessau, b.
1798.—M. J. Raphall, American preacher and author, Stockholm, b.
1890.—Max Henoch, mathematician, Berlin, d.

27.

1791.—Emancipation of the Jews in France.
1799.—Adat Jeshurun Reform synagogue in Amsterdam dedicated.
1871.—Jacob Herz, physician, professor in Erlangen, d.
1882.—Siegfried Isaacson, Prussian historian, d.
1889.—M. D. Hofmann, rabbi and author, Ungarisch Brod, d.
1891.—Sigmund T. Stein, medical author, Frankfort-on-M., d.
1903.—Julius Plotke, philanthropist, Frankfort-on-M., d.

28.

1741.—Eleazar of Brody, rabbi of Amsterdam, Safed, d.
1775.—First Jewish congregation formed in Stockholm.
1809.—Michel Levy, prominent physician, Strassburg, b.
1845.—Michael Kitseer, Talmudic author, Pressburg, d.
1903.—Abr. Levi, murdered by anti-semites, Stegers, Prussia.

29.

1024.—Enoch ben Moses, founder of Talmudic study in Toledo, d.
1349.—Massacre of Jews in Krems.
1757.—Fanny Arnstein, leader of the Vienna Salon, Berlin, b.
1814.—Israel ben Shabbetai, the "Kozenicer Maggid," d.
1815.—Isaac Luntschütz, rabbinic author, d.
1828.—Aaron Horwitz, chassidic author, Straszydlov, d.

1849.—Bär Oppenheim, Talmudic author, Pressburg, d.
1865.—Samuel D. Luzzatto, versatile Jewish scholar, Padua, d.
1865.—Therese Warendorff, religious poetess, Hamburg, d.
1902.—Bernhard J. Stockvis, professor of medicine, Amsterdam, d.
1902.—Emile Zola, advocate of the cause of Dreyfus, d.

30.

1701.—Portuguese synagogue dedicated in London.
1782.—Tebele Scheyer, rabbi, Mayence, d.
1873.—Benjamin H. Auerbach, rabbi and author, Halberstadt, d.
1892.—Michael Erlanger, philanthropist, Paris, d.
1892.—Hector Cremieux, dramatist, Paris, d.
1894.—Max Bernstein, professor, jurist, Berlin, d.
1896.—Samuel Zebi Peltin, Polish Jewish author, d.

X.

OCTOBER.

1.

1697.—Moses Zakut, Kabbalist and poet, Mantua, d.
1801.—Zacharias Frankel, President of the Seminary at Breslau, Prague, b.
1817.—Math. Straschun, Maecenas and Talmudic author, Wilna, d.
1831.—Eugene Péreire, financier and politician, Paris, b.
1835.—Adam Pollitzer, professor medicine at Vienna, Alberti, Hungary, b.
1838.—Joseph Perl, champion of modern culture, Tarnopol, d.
1858.—S. N. Ehlenberg, rabbi, Lemberg, d.
1902.—Bernhard Abraham, brigadier-general, Paris, d.

2.

1633.—Ephraim Solomon Shor, author of "Thebuoth Shor," Lublin, d.
1656.—Thousands of Jews murdered by Cossacks in Lublin.
1727.—Solomon Sasportas, liturgical poet, Nizza, d.
1774.—Ambroise Bonald, French anti-semite, b.
1838.—Julian Goldsmid, M. P., b.
1882.—Chas. Netter, founder of the Agriculutral School in Jaffa, d.
1892.—Ernst Renan, critical theologian and friend of the Jews, d.
1900.—Hugo Rheinhold, sculptor, Berlin, d.

3.

1743.—Abiad Sar Shalom Basilea, rabbi and theological author, Mantua, d.

1839.—Moses Schreiber (Sofer), leader of orthodoxy, rabbi at Pressburg, d.
1892.—Martin Steinthal, Berlin physician, d.

4.

1862.—Emancipation of the Jews in Baden.
1864.—Jacob Kern, communal leader of Budapest, d.
1867.—Eduard Kley, pedagogue and reform preacher, Hamburg, d.

5.

1787.—Simon ben Samuel, Hebrew writer, Königsberg, d.
1803.—Raphael Kosch, deputy in German Reichstag, b.
1833.—Simon Samuel, medical professor, b.
1867.—Achilles Fould, French minister of finance, Paris, b.
1880.—Jacques Offenbach, composer, convert, Paris, d.
1891.—Yetta Wohllerner, Hebrew authoress, Lemberg, d.

6.

1787.—Abraham Firkowitch, Karaitic scholar, b.
1866.—J. Hess, champion of Jewish emancipation, d.
1869.—Abraham Sutro, orthodox rabbi, Münster, d.
1894.—Nathaniel Pringsheim, University professor, botanist, d.
1903.—Saul Isaac, M. P., London, d.

7.

1771.—Nachman Bratzlaw, chassidic rabbi, Miedzyborz, d.
1845.—Samson Bloch, Neo-Hebraic author, Zolkiew, d.
1881.—Lewis Jacob Marcus, deputy for Mecklenburg, Manchester, d.
1896.—Isaac Hirschensohn, rabbinical author, London, d.

8.

1821.—Wolfgang Strassman, President of the Berlin city council, b.

1823.—Iwan Aksakow, leader of the Prussian anti-semites, b.
1865.—Heinrich Wilhelm Ernst, pianist, Nizza, d.
1891.—Jacob Eduard Polak, body physician to the Shah, Vienna, d.
1892.—Aaron Grünberger, rabbi and Talmudic author, Michalowitz, d.

9.

1580.—Immanuel Tremellius, convert and friend of Calvin, d.
1798.—Carl Feust, prominent Bavarian attorney, Bamberg, b.
1809.—Adolph Franck, French philosopher, Liocourt, b.
1859.—Alfred Dreyfus, Mühlhausen, b.
1867.—Abraham Mapu, Neo-Hebraic poet, Königsberg, d.
1871.—Jacob Kaufmann, prominent German journalist, d.
1887.—Maurice Strakosch, impresario of Nilsson, d.
1889.—Benjamin Samuel Phillips, Lord Mayor of London, d.
1894.—Jacob Segre, colonel and director of arsenal, Turin, d.

10.

1619.—Joseph Pardo, rabbi and author, Amsterdam, d.
1674.—David Cohen de Lara, Hebrew author, Hamburg, d.
1797.—Elijah Wilna, the "Gaon" of Wilna, d.
1871.—Joseph Zedner, bibliographer, Berlin, d.
1884.—Johanna Goldschmidt, authoress, Hamburg, d.
1884.—Adolph Hübsch, rabbi and author, New York, d.
1902.—Sussmann Sofer, rabbi and Talmudical author, Pacs, d.

11.

1792.—David Franco Mendes, Hebrew poet, Amsterdam, d.
1805.—Jedidja Tiah Weil, rabbi and author, Karlsruhe, d.

12.

1285.—Ninety Jews butchered in Munich.
1589.—Samuel di Medici, rabbi and Talmudic author, Salonica, d.

1795.—Dr. Gottschalk von Geldern, grandfather of Heine, Düsseldorf, d.
1837.—Akiba Eger, rabbi and Talmudic author, Posen, d.
1855.—Hirsch Chajes, Talmudic author, Lemberg, d.
1878.—Max Königswarter, French politician, Paris, d.
1895.—Isaac Wolfsohn, member of Reichstag, Hamburg, d.
1896.—Felice Finzi, rabbi Genoa, d.
1903.—Moses David Friedmann, wonder rabbi, Czortkov, d.

13.

1801.—Emil Rödiger, reviser of Gesenius' grammar, b.
1846.—Isaac Rabbinowitz, Hebrew poet, Kowno, b.
1875.—Leopold Löw, rabbi and critical author, Szegedin, d.
1877.—Seligman Baer Bamberger, prominent orthodox rabbî, Würzburg, d.
1899.—Fabius Mises, Hebrew philosophic author, Leipzig, d.
1903.—Marcus Jastrow, Talmudic lexicographer, Philadelphia, d.

14.

1806.—Benedict Levi, rabbi in Gressen, b.
1818.—Samuel Joseph Fünn, Hebrew writer, b.
1829.—Eduard Lasker, German statesman, Zierkow, b.
1841.—Joseph Franco Mendes, violinist, Amsterdam, d.
1899.—Charlotte von Emden, Heine's sister, d.

15.

1800.—M. A. Wessely, author of medical work, Bleicherode, b.
1809.—Friederich Ad. Philippi, convert, orthodox Lutheran theologian, b.
1821.—Moritz Hartmann, German poet, b.
1842.—Reactionary law in regard to the Jews enacted in Hanover.
1892.—Saul Isaac Kämpf, preacher, professor, author, d.

16.

1655.—Joseph Solomon del Medigo, critical author, Prague, d.
1773.—Samuel Meyer Ehrenberg, Zunz's teacher, Braunschweig, b.
1783.—Jeanette Straus Wohl, friend of Börne, Frankfort-on-M., b.
1855.—Jeremiah Heinemann, translator and publisher of periodical, Berlin, d.
1862.—Alexander Haindorf, founder of seminary in Münster, d.
1867.—S. L. Rapoport, rabbi and critical author, Prague, d.
1875.—Hirsch Kalischer, the real founder of Zionism, Thorn, d.
1886.—Mayer Carl v. Rothschild, member of the German Reichstag, d.
1886.—Hermann Sternberg, author of the history of Jews in Poland, Vienna, d.

17.

1648.—Lipman Popper, Hebrew poet, Prague, d.
1680.—Constance, Countess Cosel, the courtesan of August II. of Saxony, a secret proselyte, b.
1768.—Israel Jacobson, philanthropist, Halberstadt, b.
1793.—I. N. Mannheimer, the Vienna preacher, Copenhagen, b.
1832.—Moses Lemans, Dutch writer on Pedagogy, Amsterdam, d.
1839.—Albert Harkavy, historian of Jewish literature, b.
1903.—Lewis Tallermann, inventor, London, d.

18.

1762.—Lazarus Bendavid, philosopher and champion of modern culture, Berlin, b.
1800.—Charlotte Emden Heine, b. Cf. Oct. 14.
1806.—B. A. Hermann, dramatist and theatrical director, Hamburg, b.
1818.—The Reform temple in Hamburg opened.
1892.—Moses von Wassermann, rabbi, Stuttgart, d.
1902 —Reuben Asher Braudes, Hebrew author, Vienna, d.

19.

1298.—Massacre of Jews in Heilbronn.
1700.—Jehuda Chassid, mystic, Jerusalem, d.
1819.—Calmann Levy, Parisian publisher, b.
1826.—Manuel Joel, rabbi and theological author, b.
1843.—Moses Löb Lilienblum, Hebrew author, b.
1849.—Israel Friedmann (Reb Srulze), wonder rabbi, Sadagora, d.
1894.—James Darmestetter, French philologist, d.
1898.—Harold Frederic, English writer, advocate of the Russian Jews, d.

20.

1616.—Solomon Sforno, Hebrew writer, Venice, d.
1820.—Wilhelm Wolfsohn, German poet, Odessa, b.
1892.—Emin Pasha (Ed. Schnitzer), African explorer, murdered.
1894.—Ludwig Mauthner, professor of Ophthalmology, Vienna, d.
1901.—Hippolyte A. Wawelburg, Russian philanthropist, Wiesbaden, d.

21.

1663.—Joshua ben Jacob (Rebbe Reb Höschl), Cracow, d.
1817.—Meyer Abrahamson, writer on medicine, Hamburg, d.
1837.—Michael J. Gusikow, musician, Aachen, d.
1847.—Eduard Brandes, Danish writer, Copenhagen, b.
1853.—Samuel Meyer Ehrenberg, Wolfenbüttel, d. (See Oct. 18.)
1873.—The giving of equal rights to the Jews proclaimed in Croatia.
1876.—David Oppenheim, rabbi and author, Vienna, d.
1881.—Levy Popper, professor Tübingen, d.
1893.—The Jewish Theological Institute at Vienna opened.

22.

1693.—Menahem Samson Basilea, rabbinical author, Mantua, d.
1781.—Hartog Sommerhausen, pedagogue and writer, Niederwehren, b.
1798.—Martin Steinthal, physician in Berlin, b.

1801.—Eleazar Kallir, rabbi, Talmudic author, Kolin, d.
1811.—Franz Liszt, musician and anti-semite, b.
1814.—Joseph Schwarz, author of the Geography of Palestine, Bavaria, b.
1846.—Sarah Bernhardt, the great French tragedienne, b.
1847.—Henrietta Herz, leader of Berlin Salon, d.
1883.—Peter Th. Riess, physicist, the first Jewish member of the Berlin Academy, d.
1887.—Simon (Sinai) Hock, Jewish historical investigator, Vienna, d.
1894.—Alexander Langbank, Hebrew writer, Jaroslau, d.
1900.—Max Müller, founder of the science of Comparative Religion, Oxford, d.
1902.—Siegmund Hinrichsen, President of "Bürgerschaft," Hamburg, d.

23.

1340.—Nicholas de Lyra, Catholic Biblical exegete, student of Jewish literature, d.
1456.—John Caspistrano, the "holy" murderer of Jews, d.
1825.—Solomon Friedländer, Reform rabbi, Brilon, b.
1842.—William Gesenius, lexicographer, exegete, Halle, d.
1874.—Abraham Geiger, liberal Jewish theologian, Berlin, d.
1899.—Ephraim L. Zox, Australian politician, Melbourne, d.

24.

1492.—Jews in Sternberg, Mecklenburg, burned for the supposed desecration of the host.
1763.—Dorothea Schlegel, Moses Mendelssohn's daughter, Berlin, b.
1784.—Moses Montefiore, the great philanthropist, Leghorn, b.
1811.—Ferdinand von Hiller, musician, convert, Frankfort-on-M., b.
1819.—Meyer Aaron Goldschmidt, Danish ghetto novelist, b.
1826.—Jacob Herzfeld, actor, Hamburg, d.

1846.—Emanuel Osmund, Jean Paul's friend, Bayreuth, d.
1870.—Naturalization of the Jews in Algeria.
1884.—David Ephrussi, rabbinical writer, d.
1896.—Sir Albert Sassoon, East Indian nabob, London, d.
1898.—David Levi, Italian poet, Turin, d.

25.

1327.—Asher b. Yechiel "Rosch", Toledo, d.
1742.—John Baptist de Rossi, famous bibliographer, b.
1800.—Thomas Macaulay, English historian, champion of the emancipation of the Jews, b.
1848.—Karl Emil Franzos, Ghetto poet, Czortkov, b.
1871.—Alex. Mendelssohn, the last Jew of Moses Mendelssohn's family, d.
1896.—David Rachamin Aghion, philanthropist, Alexandria, d.

26.

1407.—Massacre of the Jews in Cracow.
1631.—Leopold Kollonitsch, cardinal, Jew-hater, Komorn, b.
1864.—M. L. Schlesinger, juvenile writer, Breslau, d.
1881.—Aaron Kornfeld, great Talmudist, Jenikau, d.
1893.—Bernhard Deutsch de Hatvan, manufacturer, Budapest, d.
1896.—Isaac Bamberger, rabbi, Königsberg, d.

27.

1774.—Abraham Broda, author of Memoirs, Aussee, d.
1786.—Frederick Cerfberr, French consul, b.

28.

1672.—Isaac Deckingen, rabbi, Amsterdam, d.
1752.—Jacob Simon, engraver and brave soldier, Brussels, b.
1825.—Jacob Herz Beer, Meyerbeer's father, Berlin, d.
1834.—Hirsch Heller "Charif", rabbi and Talmudical author, Altofen, d.

1840.—Montefiore's audience with the Sultan regarding the affair of Damascus.
1870.—Gottlieb Schmelkes, physician and poet, Interlaken, d.
1884.—Abraham Brodsky, philanthropist, Odessa, d.
1895.—Ferdinand Ludwig Neubürger, dramatic writer, Frankfort-on-M., d.

29.

1831.—Leopold Sonnemann, journalist and parliamentarian, Höchberg, b.
1833.—Emancipation of the Jews in Kurhessen.
1860.—David Aaron de Sola, chacham and writer, London, d.
1864.—Simcha Pinsker, investigator of Jewish history, Odessa, d.

30.

1724.—Israel von Hönigsberg, Austrian financier, Kuttenberg, b.
1836.—David Castelli, learned Orientalist, Leghorn, b.
1887.—Jacob Auerbach, pedagogical writer, Frankfort-on-M., d.
1892.—Gerson Wolf, writer of Jewish history, Vienna, d.
1903.—Hillel Noah Maggid Steinschneider, Jewish historian, Wilna, d.

31.

1711.—Moses Chefez, philosophical author, Venice, d.
1820.—Joseph Hazan, chief rabbi, Jerusalem, d.
1824.—Fabius Mieses, Brody, b. (See Oct. 13.)
1834.—Samuel Landau, chief rabbi, Prague, d.

XI.

NOVEMBER.

1.

1478.—Inquisition founded in Spain.
1784.—Gotthold Salomon, preacher, b.
1817.—Joseph Cohen, French journalist and writer, b.
1839.—Isidor Loeb, French savant, b.
1842.—Solomon Herschell, chief rabbi of England, London, d.
1843.—Samuel Phil Gans, jurist, Celle, d.
1870.—Ephraim Unger, author of mathematical works, Erfurt, d.
1893.—Marcus Hirsch, physician and author, son of S. A. Hirsch, Frankfort-on-M., d.
1894.—Czar Alexander III., persecutor of the Jews, d.
1903.—Theod. Mommsen, historian and opponent of anti-semitism, Charlottenburg, d.

2.

1761.—Akiba Eger, Talmudical author, Eisenstadt, b.
1786.—Abraham Oppenheimer, rabbinical author, Hanover, d.
1820.—Sir Saul Samuel, Australian politician, b.
1827.—August de Lagarde, learned Orientalist and anti-semite, Berlin, b.
1831.—Julius Stettenheim, famous humorist, Hamburg, b.
1875.—Eduard Horn (Ign. Einhorn), preacher of Reform and Hungarian statesman, Budapest, d.
1879.—David Einhorn, German-American, Reform rabbi, New York, d.
1882.—David Morgenstern, Bavarian politician, d.
1894.—Captain Dreyfus arrested.
1896.—George Levin, medical professor, Berlin, d.

3.

1394.—Jews expelled from Paris.
1766.—Thomas Abbt, friend of Mendelssohn, d.
1810.—Leop. Stein, Reform rabbi, Burgkunstadt, b.
1837.—Ludwig Chronegk, German actor, b.
1839.—"Hattisheriff" of Gülhane issued; improvement of the position of the Jews in Turkey.
1890.—Manuel Joel, rabbi and philosophical writer, Breslau, d.
1899.—Jacques Wiener, engraver, Brussels, d.
1902.—Ferd. Reichenheim, philanthropist, Berlin, d.
1902.—Heinrich Rickert, opposer of anti-semitism, d.

4.

1481.—Great "Auto da fe" in Seville.
1684.—Abr. Jos. Sol. Graziano, rabbinic author, Modena, d.
1716.—Raphael Rabenio, physician and Jewish literateur, Padua, d.
1748.—Jacob Chai Chefez, poet and preacher, Gorice, d.
1795.—Abraham Kassel, Hebrew mathematical author, Berlin, d.
1846.—M. A. Günzburg, worker for Hebrew Renaissance movement in Russia, d.
1849.—J. S. Avigdor, member of the Parisian Sanhedrin, Nizza, d.
1861.—Servian law forbids the residence of the Jews in interior.

5.

1337.—Two martyrs in Parchim Mecklenburg killed.
1816.—Siegfried Hirsch, historian, convert, b.
1828.—Beer J. Beer, advocate of Jewish emancipation, Nancy, d.
1830.—Albert Fischer, writer on kindergarten subjects, b.
1846.—Solomon Trier, rabbi, Frankfort-on-M. (90 years old), d.
1853.—Sir Marcus Samuel, Lord Mayer of London, b.
1864.—David Sassoon, founder of the famous house in Bombay, d.
1888.—Louis Löwe, Montefiore's secretary, London, d.
1896.—Rachel, Countess d' Avigdor, d.

6.

1643.—Abraham Azulai, Cabbalistic author, Hebron, d.
1805.—Meir Obornik, "Biurist," Vienna, d.
1840.—Ferman of the Sultan issued against "blood accusation."
1876.—Joh. Emmanuel Veith, Catholic pulpit orator, convert, d.
1895.—Joel Müller, rabbinical author, Berlin, d.

7.

1573.—Solomon Luria, eminent Talmudist, Lublin.
1610.—Victims of the Inquisition in Lograno burned.
1846.—Ignaz Brüll, pianist, Prosnitz, b.
1859.—Moriz Horschetzky, physician and Jewish writer, Kanisza, d.
1860.—Jacob Joseph Ottinger, rabbi, Berlin, d.
1884.—H. Redlich, engraver, Berlin, d.
1895.—Emmy Rossi, novelist, Berlin, d.
1898.—Isaiah Luzzatto, editor of the works of his father, S. D. Luzzatto, Padua, d.

8.

1610.—Jews murdered by the Inquisition in Lograno.
1807.—Seligmann Bär Bamberger, orthodox rabbi, Wiesenbronn, b.
1838.—Peter Beer, writer on the Jewish Renaissance, Prague, d.
1840.—Nathan Meyer von Rothschild, first Jewish Lord in England, b.
1878.—Hermann Gödsche (Sir John Ratcliff), anti-semitic novelist, Trachenberg, d.

9.

1526.—Jews expelled from Presburg.
1703.—Samuel ben Zebi, of Cracow, publisher of the Talmud with parallel passages, Frankfort-on-M., d.
1891.—Simon Bacher, Neo-Hebraic poet, St. Miklosz, d.

10.

1689.—David Lida, Talmudic author, Lemberg, d.
1773.—Joseph Perl, participant in the Jewish Renaissance and satirical writer, Tarnopol, b.

1809.—David Einhorn, Reform rabbi, Dispeck, b.
1810.—Martin Edward von Simson, President of the German Reichstag, convert, Königsberg, b.
1810.—Lazarus Adler, rabbi and author, Unsleben, b.
1810.—Jacob Kaufmann, German author, b.
1826.—Jacob Hamburger, author of the Jewish Encyclopedia, b.
1833.—Ed. Jacobsohn, humorist, Gross Strehlitz, b.
1843.—Lazarus Gumpel, philanthropist (Heine's Gumpelino), Hamburg, d.
1867.—Solomon Klein, orthodox rabbi and author, Colmar, Alsace, d.
1892.—Israel M. Japhet, teacher and author, Frankfort-on-M., d.

11.

1558.—Shalom Shechna, founder of the Talmud study in Poland, Lublin, d.
1803.—Raphael Kohen, rabbi and Talmudic author, Altona, d.
1823.—Hirsch Katzenelnbogen, rabbi and Talmudic author, Waizenheim, d.
1823.—Nathan von Keller, Austrian deputy of Reichsrath, Brody, b.
1848.—Gustav Karpeles, historian of literature, Loschitz, b.
1855.—Jews' College in London opened.
1891.—Ignaz Hirschler, Ophthalmologist and member of the Hungarian House of Lords, Budapest, d.
1897.—Sabbato Morais, orthodox rabbi, Philadelphia, d.

12.

1631.—Simon Wolf Auerbach, rabbi, Prague, d.
1778.—Löb Sundel Pfersche, Talmudic author, Hamburg, d.
1787.—Law requiring the Jews to adopt a family name in Austria issued.
1797.—Jehuda Horowitz, physician and Hebrew writer, Grodno, d.
1812.—Julia Goodman, paintress, London, b.

1813.—Meir Heimerdinger, German judge, b.
1819.—Daniel Sanders, German lexicographer, Alt Strelitz, b.

13.

1550.—Paul Fagius, Christian Hebraist, England, d.
1679.—Thomas de Pinero, learned Marano, Amsterdam, d.
1757.—Talmud in Kamienetz burned through the efforts of the Frankists.
1834.—Benj. Peixotto, advocate for the rights of the Jews, New York, b.
1863.—Alex. McCaul, missionary to the Jews, London, d.
1882.—Ephraim Alexander, philanthropist, London, d.
1890.—Joseph Klingenstein, pedagogical writer, d.
1894.—Jacob Reifmann, Hebrew writer, Szczebrszyn, b.

14.

1797.—M. M. Haarbleicher, historian, Hamburg, b.
1893.—Moriz von Königswarter, philanthropist, Vienna, d.
1900.—Adolph Pollitzer, musician, d.

15.

1832.—Gottlieb Bondy, Bohemian politician, Prague, b.
1832.—Hannah Adams, Christian authoress of a history of the Jews, Boston, d.
1843.—C. A. Buchholz, Christian champion of Jewish rights, d.
1868.—James von Rothschild, Paris, d.
1882.—Daniel Ehrmann, rabbi and author, Brünn, d.
1886.—Gustav Heine, proprietor of a periodical, Heinrich Heine's brother, Vienna, d.
1892.—Senior Sachs, Hebrew writer, Paris, d.
1894.—Arnold Bodek, author, grandson of S. L. Rapoport, Leipzig, d.
1900.—Jehuda Behak, rabbi and author, Cherson, d.

16.

1491.—Execution of many Marannos in Avila.
1794.—Saul, rabbi in Frankfort-on-the-Oder, as fugitive, London, d.
1800.—F. Lebrecht, historian of Hebrew literature, b.
1803.—Heinrich Ewald, Christian author of a "History of Israel," Göttingen, b.
1822.—Bär Kestin, Hebrew author, Borki, b.
1850.—Albert Alexander, chess player, Paris, d.
1871.—Emil Makai (Fischer), Hungarian poet, Mako, b.
1888.—Arsene Darmestetter, French philologist, d.
1890.—Israel Bär Merenlander, Talmudic author, d.
1900.—Moriz Rosenhaupt, cantor and composer, Nürnberg, d.

17.

1800.—Achilles Fould, French Minister of Finance, b.
1834.—Michael Bernays, German historian of literature, convert, Hamburg, b.
1862.—Gotthold Salomon, first German preacher, Hamburg, d.
1891.—Jacob Egers, Hebrew writer, Berlin, d.

18.

1616.—Moses Mordecai Margalioth, Talmudic author, Cracow, d.
1822.—Daniel Hakoben Azevedo, Portuguese rabbi, Amsterdam, d.
1840.—Seminary for teachers opened in Berlin.
1844.—Russian law concerning the education of rabbis.

19.

1791.—Jacob Beck, author of a popular book on Shehitah Leipnik, d.
1864.—Jacob Weil, Jewish writer, Frankfort-on-M., d.
1879.—Abraham Bär Lebensohn, Hebrew author, Wilna, d.
1887.—Emma Lazarus, Jewish poetess, New York, d.
1890.—Lady Hanna Roseberry (née Rothschild), d.
1892.—Baron Reinach, financier Panama affair, Paris, d.

20.

1657.—Manasseh ben Israel, champion of Jews, Middelburg, d.
1842.—Cesare Parenzo, Italian senator, Rovigo, b.
1850.—Jos. Sam. Bloch, journalist, advocate of Judaism, Dukla, b.
1858.—Hirsch Edelmann, Hebrew writer, Berlin, d.
1860.—Isaac Marcus Jost, historian, Frankfort-on-M., d.
1864.—Jacob Ezekiel Löwy, rabbi and author, Beuthen, d.
1889.—Meyer Roest, lithographer, Amsterdam, d.
1892.—Chajim Nathan Dembitzer, historian, Cracow, d.
1894.—Anton Rubinstein, composer, convert, Peterhof, d.
1894.—Samson d' Ancona, Italian senator, Florence, d.

21.

1619.—Martyr Abba torn to pieces by a dog in Ispahan.
1792.—Benoit Fould, French politician, Paris, b.
1819.—Daniel Chwolson, convert and defender of the Jews, Wilna, b.
1899.—A. L. Friedland, Maecenas and philanthrophist, d.

22.

1736.—Arjeh Löb, preacher, martyr, Posen, d.
1797.—David Salomons, first Jewish Lord Mayor, London, b.
1800.—Solomon Maimon, philosopher, Nieder Siegersdorf, d.
1808.—Lionel von Rothschild, first Jewish member of the English Parliament, b.
1811.—David Wolf Marks, first English Reform preacher, London, b.
1819.—George Eliot, authoress of David Deronda, b.
1830.—Sigmund Meyer, communal leader, b.
1851.—Wolf Pascheles, editor of the "Sippurim," Prague, d.

23.

1703.—Powder explosion in Lemberg. Many Jews killed.
1793.—Jehuda Pinchas, painter, d.

1825.—Henrietta Goldschmidt, champion of woman's rights, Krotoschin, b.
1836.—Jacob Kohen Lakri, French consul, d.
1836.—Moses Körner, author, Breslau, d.
1840.—Ambrosius Bonald, French Jew baiter, d.
1844.—Hermann Todesco, philanthropist, Vienna, d.
1845.—M. S. Alexander, Protestant Bishop of Jerusalem, convert, d.
1848.—Hermann Jellinek, Vienna, shot as rebel.
1886.—Leopold Kompert, ghetto poet, Vienna, d.
1899.—Joseph Cohen, French journalist and author, Paris, d.

24.

1777.—Aaron b. Meir of Brest, Talmudical author, d.
1848.—Joseph Mendelssohn, son of Moses Mendelssohn, Berlin, d.
1869.—Jonathan Alexandersohn, victim of orthodox persecutions, Altofen, d.
1872.—Moriz Schorstein, writer on Hydrotherapeutics, Odessa, d.
1877.—Simon Deutsch, bibliographer, Constantinople, d.

25.

1806.—Isaac Péreire, financier and politician, Bordeaux, b.
1829.—Jenny Hirsch, authoress, b.
1830.—Lina Morgenstern, champion of Woman's rights, Breslau, b.
1839.—Kaim Samuel, advocate of Jewish emancipation, Dresden, d.
1868.—Michel Sabludowski, Jewish author, Bialystok, d.
1899.—Marcus Nordheim, philanthropist, Hamburg, d.

26.

1660.—Daniel E. Yablonski, Hebrew book publisher, Christian, b.
1822.—Karl August, Prince Hardenberg, originator of liberal Prussian laws of 1812 concerning the Jews.
1840.—Karl von Rotteck, historian, opponent of Jewish emancipation in Baden, Freiburg, d.

1849.—Julius Hitzig, architect, of Jewish descent, Berlin, d.
1862.—Jos. A. Friedländer, Landrabbiner, Brilon, 100 years old, d.
1892.—Moriz Wahrmann, Hungarian politician, Budapest, d.
1893.—Sebastian Brunner, clerical anti-semite, Vienna, d.
1900.—Hermann Hirschel, author of humorous works and librettist, Berlin, d.

27.

1804.—Sir Julius Benedict, musician, Stuttgart, b.
1815.—Simon Hock, investigator of Jewish history, Prague, b.
1836.—Wm. Ebstein, medical professor, Jauer, b.
1861.—Jeanette Wohl, Börne's friend, Paris, d.
1883.—Mordecai Plungian, Hebrew author, Wilna, d.

28.

1706.—Solomon Mirels, rabbi, Altona, d.
1830.—Anton Rubinstein, composer, convert, b.

29.

1349.—Jewish massacre in Augsburg.
1882.—Moise Soave, writer, Venice, d.
1888.—R. N. Rabbinowitz, critic of Talmudic texts, Kiew, d.
1889.—Jacob Brüll, rabbi and author, Kojetein, d.

30.

1215.—Lateran Council decrees the Jewish badge.
1631.—Samuel Edels, the "Meharscha," Lublin, d.
1748.—Mordecai Zahalon, physician and poet, Ferrara, d.
1818.—Ch. V. Alkan, musician, Paris, d.
1820.—M. A. Alexander, Australian politician, b.
1828.—Prussian Cabinet Order forbidding Jews to take Christian first names issued.

1867.—Wolf Aloys Meisel, rabbi and theological writer, Budapest, d.
1871.—Gaston Cremieux shot in Marsailles as a Communist.
1897.—Naphtali Maskillejson, Hebrew writer Minsk.

XII.

DECEMBER.

1.

499.—Rabbina, editor of Talmud, Sura, d.
1264.—Proselyte Abraham burned in Bavaria.
1893.—Peter Sbarbaro, advocate of the Jews, Rome, d.

2.

1809.—Samuel Adler, Reform rabbi, Worms, b.
1825.—Dom Pedro, Emperor of Brazil, lover of Jewish literature, b.
1867.—Ludwig Lesser, writer, Berlin, d.
1870.—Commander Franchetti, fell near Champigny.
1882.—Leopold Stein, Reform preacher, Frankfort-on-M., d.
1886.—Aaron Auerbach, rabbi, Bonn, d.
1890.—David Asher, philosophical writer, d.
1900.—Ludwig Jacobowski, German poet, d.

3.

1800.—Jacob Emil Pereire, politician and financier, Bordeaux, b.
1811.—Ed. Bendemann, painter, convert, Berlin, b.
1836.—Adolf Lieben, chemist, University professor, Vienna, b.
1842.—Samuel (Sanwel) Eger, rabbi and Talmudic author, Brunswick, d.
1844.—H. Gerson, physician and medical writer, Hamburg, d.
1875.—Philip Anspach, judge at Court of Cassation, Paris, d.
1891.—Abr. Alexander Wolff, chief rabbi, Copenhagen, d.
1903.—Heinrich Landesmann (Hieronymus Lorm) author. Brünn, d.
1903.—Deborah Romm, Hebrew publisher, Wilna, d.

4.

1741.—Moses ben Abraham Broda, rabbi, Worms, d.
1750.—Abbé Gregoire, advocate of the Jews, b.
1805.—Philip Samson, one of the founders of "Samson Schule," Wolfenbüttel, d.
1878.—David B. Adler, Danish politician, d.
1896.—Felix Luka, professor, Charlottenburg, d.

5.

1349.—Seventy Jews were killed at Nuremberg.
1756.—Isaac Lampronti, author of Talmudical lexicon, Ferara, d.
1823.—Hartog Lemon, physician and worker for emancipation, Amsterdam, d.
1849.—Baruch Lindau, Hebrew writer, Berlin, d.
1891.—Dom Pedro, Paris, d. (See Dec. 2.)
1900.—Emily Marion Harris, philanthropist and writer, London, d.

6.

1213.—Massacre of Jews at Erfurt.
1675.—John Lightfoot, Christian Hebraist, Eli, d.
1699.—Tebele ben Wolf, rabbinical writer, Altona, d.
1750.—David Friedländer, worker for enlightenment, Königsberg, b.
1834.—Jonas David Meyer, jurist and advocate of Jewish rights, Amsterdam, d.
1834.—Hermann Senator, medical professor, Berlin University, Gnesen, b.
1855.—Amschel Mayer v. Rothschild, Frankfort-on-M., d.
1877.—Theodore Creizenach, historian, convert, d.
1878.—Louis Jean Königswarter, politician, Paris, d.
1885.—Wolfgang Strassmann, member of city council, Berlin, d.
1888.—Arnold Domashowski, Russian jurist, d.

7.

1820.—Abraham Tiktin, rabbi and Talmudic author, Breslau, d.
1823.—Leopold Kronecker, mathematician, Liegnitz, b.
1895.—Solomon Fuchs, rabbi and writer on Jewish science, d.
1900.—Henry Russell, song composer, London, d.

8.

1816.—Adolf Fischhof, Austrian politician, Altofen, b.
1818.—David Asher, b. (See December 2.)
1822.—Saul Ascher, writer, Berlin, d.
1826.—Cerf Berr, called Ibrahim Manzur Effendi, adventurer, Larousse, d.
1839.—Julius Bernstein, physiologist, professor at Halle, Berlin, b.
1859.—M. B. Friedenthal, merchant and Jewish writer, Breslau, d.
1871.—Jacob Ettlinger, orthodox rabbi and author, Altona, d.
1903.—Solomon Löb, financier and philanthropist, New York, d.

9.

1669.—Mathathia Calahorre, martyred by Jesuits at Piotrkow.
1712.—Simon Frankfurter, author on ritual, Amsterdam, d.
1738.—Jews expelled from Breslau.
1804.—Edict of Czar Alexander to establish Jewish colonies.
1815.—Reform service in the house of Berr forbidden by police.
1818.—Sir John Simon, English Parliamentarian, Jamaica, b.
1839.—Moriz von Hirsch, philanthropist, b.
1869.—Meier Zipser, rabbi and author, Stuhlweissenburg, d.
1880.—Jacob Jacobs, artist, Antwerp, d.
1885.—Joseph von Hirsch, father of Moritz v. Hirsch, Munich, d.

10.

1198.—Averroes (ibn Roshd), Arabic philosopher, supposed teacher of Maimonides, d.
1768.—Ernst K. Rosenmüller, Christian exegete, Hessberg, b.

1791.—Jacob Frank, founder of a Judeo-Christian sect, Offenbach, d.
1814.—Sebastian Brunner, clerical anti-semite, Vienna, b.
1862.—Peter Geller, artist, Sklow, b.
1864.—Gerson Levy, Reform worker, Metz, d.
1884.—Abraham Placzeck, chief rabbi of Moravia, Boskowitz, d.
1888.—S. L. Schwabacher, rabbi, Odessa, d.
1891.—Abraham Kuenen, exegete and writer of a Jewish history, Christian, Leiden, d.

11.

1751.—Christian William von Dohm, advocate of the Jews, Lemgo, b.
1809.—Theodore Griesinger, anti-semite, novelist, Kirmbach, b.
1835.—Adolf Stöcker, court chaplain and anti-semite, Halberstadt, b.
1890.—Heinrich Davidson, professor of medicine, Berlin, d.
1896.—Cecilia Furtado Heine, French philanthropist, d.
1898.—Max Grünbaum, writer on Yiddish literature, Munich, d.

12.

1795.—M. A. Günzburg, Russian Haskalah-writer, Salant, b.
1893.—J. Löwenberg, geographer, Berlin, d.
1897.—Isaac Costa, rabbi, Leghorn, d.
1900.—M. G. Ottolenghi, rabbi and pedagogical writer, Salonica, d.

13.

1204.—Moses Maimonides, Cairo, d.
1349.—Massacre of Jews in Germany.
1585.—Eliezer Ashkenazi, Talmudical author, Cracow, d.
1807.—Levi Bodenheimer, rabbi and author, Karlsruhe, b.
1830.—Isaac Plessner, translator into Hebrew, Breslau, d.

14.

1808.—Abraham b. Elijah (Gaon), scientific author, Wilna, d.
1885.—Matthias Straschun, Maecenas and Talmudical scholar, Wilna, d.
1899.—Samuel Schlessinger, nautical inspector, Budapest, d.

15.

1679.—Moses Raphael Aguilar, rabbi, Amsterdam, d.
1818.—Abraham Treuenfels, rabbi and author, b.
1827.—Joseph Halevy, Orientalist, Adrianople, b.
1833.—Prosper Wittersheim, advocate of the Jews, Strassburg, d.
1891.—Benedict Zuckermann, teacher at rabbinical seminary, Breslau, d.
1899.—Gottlieb Adler, mathematician, Vienna, d.

16.

1741.—Nathan Adler, mystic, Frankfort-on-M., b.
1778.—Ludwig Robert, dramatist, brother of Rahel, Berlin, b.
1878.—Carl Gutzkw, author of Uriel Acosta, d.
1895.—Samuel Spitzer, rabbi and author, Essek, d.

17.

1568.—Israel Horwitz and son-in-law, Moses b. Joel, burned in Prague.
1659.—Three hundred Jews killed at Buchow.
1700.—Zadek Cohen Belifante, rabbinical author, Raussnitz, d.
1839.—Jos. Flesch, Neo-Hebrew author, Raussnitz, d.
1890.—Philip Abraham, English author, London, d.
1893.—Henry Zirndorf, rabbinical author, Cincinnati, d.

18.

1706.—Moses Jehuda ben Kalonymos (Löb Chariff), rabbi, Amsterdam, d.

1725.—Johann Solomon Semler, rationalistic theologian, "Judaeis peior," Saalfeld, b.
1744.—Edict expelling Jews from Bohemia issued.
1803.—J. G. Herder, admirer of Hebrew poetry, d.
1813.—Baruch Jeiteles, Hebrew author, Prague, d.
1816.—David Oppenheim, rabbi and author, Leipnik, b.
1889.—Heinrich Deutsch, Hungarian Hebrew writer, Budapest, d.
1896.—Moritz Rohr, philanthropist, Berlin, d.

19.

1791.—David Teble Schiff, rabbi, London, d.
1837.—Leon Gordon, Hebrew poet, Wilna, b.
1844.—"Kahal" (Synagogal organization) abolished in Russia.
1886.—Giuseppe Finzi, Italian patriot and senator, d.
1902.—Isaac Askenasy, painter, Moscow, d.
1902.—Moses Basilewsky, Russo-Jewish author, Odessa, d.

20.

1704.—John Andreas Eisenmenger, the bitter enemy of the Jews, d.
1816.—Zechariah Mendel of Podhaycz, rabbinical author, Frankfort-on-O., d.
1816.—Simon Bondi, Hebrew writer, Dresden, d.
1821.—Michael Levy, Parisian publisher, b.
1863.—Founding of the society Mefize Haskalah, Russia.
1868.—Hungarian Parliament passes laws giving Jews political equality.
1882.—Philipp Ehrenberg, principal of Samson school, d.
1895.—Leopold Jacoby, poet Zürich, d.

21.

1627.—Four Jews killed in Cordova.
1725.—Abraham of Glogau, rabbinical author, d.
1804.—Benjamin Disraeli, Lord Beaconsfield, London, b.

1832.—Sir Samuel Montague, English politician, philanthropist, Liverpool, b.
1834.—Adolph von Sonnenthal, Vienna actor, Budapest, b.
1838.—Samuel Bernstein, chief rabbi, Amsterdam, d.
1891.—Leon Pinsker, Zionistic writer, Odessa, d.
1895.—Moritz Popper, Jewish historian, Prague, d.

22.

1239.—Abraham Alfakar, Hebrew poet, Toledo, d.
1772.—Solomon Sachs, architect, Berlin, b.
1822.—Gerson v. Bleichröder, financier, Berlin, b.
1847.—Baron Fuld, Hebrew scholar, Frankfort-on-M., d.
1890.—Sam. Jos. Fünn, noted Hebrew author, Wilna, d.
1891.—Paul de Lagarde, learned Orientalist and anti-semite, Göttingen, d.

23

1839.—M. J. Bresselau, Reform writer, Hamburg, d.
1844.—Solomon Heine, philanthropist, Henry Heine's uncle, Hamburg, d.
1871.—Jonas von Königswarter, philanthropist, Vienna, d.
1880.—George Eliot, writer of Daniel Deronda, d.
1887.—Laurence Oliphant, Gentile promoter of the colonization of Palestine, d.
1892.—Paulus (Selig) Cassel, Jewish missionary and scholar. Berlin, d.

24.

1496.—Banishment of Jews from Portugal.
1804.—Isaac Satanow, Hebrew writer, Berlin, d.
1812.—Henry Russell, b. (See Dec. 7.)
1821.—Leon Pinsker, b. (See Dec. 21.)
1841.—Flaminio Servi, rabbi and author, Pitigliano, b.
1852.—Marco Brociner, novelist, Jassy, b.

25.

1800.—Bär Goldberg, Hebrew author, Chlodna, b.
1825.—Adolph de Blowitz (really Oppert, journalist, convert), Blowitz, b.
1831.—Sol. Lefmann, Sanscritist, b.
1834.—David Friedländer, Berlin, d. (See Dec. 6.)
1839.—David Caro, Reform writer, Posen, d.
1859.—Alphonse Th. Cerfberr, dramatist, d.
1880.—Simon v. Oppenheim, banker and philanthropist, Cologne, d.
1884.—Solomon Herxheimer, rabbi and author, Bernburg, d.
1901.—Carl Schick, Palestine explorer, Jerusalem, d.

26.

1669.—Gerson Chefez, Hebrew author, Venice, d.
1835.—Joseph Perles, rabbi and author, Baya, b.
1838.—Giuseppe Ottolenghi, Italian Minister of War, Sabinnetta, b.
1840.—David Segre, Italian diplomat, b.
1859.—Bär Oppenheim, rabbi, Eibenschitz, d.
1873.—Isaac Löwi, Reform rabbi, Fürth, d.
1883.—Hirsch B. Fassel, rabbi and author, Gr. Kanisza, d.
1885.—Julius Glaser, Austrian minister, convert, d.
1892.—Iomtob Baschanski, rabbi and Talmudic author, Mir, d.
1892.—Isaac Meir Dick, Hebrew author, Wilna, d.
1901.—Jonas Bergtheil, pioneer in Natal, London, d.
1902.—Moritz Scherbel, preacher, author, Hamburg, d.

27.

1812.—Shneor Zalman of Liady, Chasidic author, d.
1818.—Lipmann M. Büschenthal, German poet, Berlin, d.
1837.—Louis Löwe, German parliamentarian, b.
1861.—Jacob Eichenbaum, Hebrew writer in the Jewish Renaissance movement, Kiew, d.

1861.—Meir Eisenstädter, rabbi and Talmudic author, Unghwar, d.
1862.—Michael Goudchaux, French Finance Minister.
1889.—Edward Bendemann, d. (See Dec. 3.)
1893.—Moritz Ehrentheil, popular writer, Budapest, d.
1899.—Moses Levi Ehrenreich, rabbi, Rome, d.

28.

1235.—Massacre of Jews at Lauda.
1757.—Moses Lwow, chief rabbi, Nikolsburg, d.
1788.—Moses J. Landau, writer, Prague, b.
1810.—Levi Herzfeld, rabbi, rabbi at Brunswick, b.
1811.—Ludwig Philipson, Jewish publicist, Dessau, b.
1828.—Joseph v. Weilen, Dramatist, convert, Tetin, b.
1859.—Thomas B. Macauly, champion of Jewish rights, d.
1887.—Julius Sachs, composer, Frankfort-on-M., d.
1893.—Adolph Jellinek, preacher, Vienna, d.

29.

1590.—Zemach Duran, rabbi and author, Algiers, d.
1817.—Aug. Abrahamson, philanthropist, Gothenburg, b.
1853.—Ferdinand Caspary, mathematician, Berlin, b.
1862.—Samuel Mulder, Dutch Jewish writer, Amsterdam, d.
1889.—Ludwig Philipson, Bonn, d. (See Dec. 28.)
1891.—Leopold Kronecker, Berlin, d. (See Dec. 7.)
1896.—Jacob Bacharach, Hebrew scientific writer, Bialystock, d.

30.

1066.—Massacre of Jews in Granada.
1702.—Joseph Darshan, rabbinical writer, Berlin, d.
1791.—Anton von Rosas, anti-semitic writer, Fünfkirchen, b.
1811.—Betty Paoli (Glück), German poetess, convert, b.
1832.—Max Hirsch, German politician and political economist, b.
1855.—Samuel Bleichröder, founder of banking house, Berlin, d.
1894.—Eugenia Fortis, Italian poetess, d.

31.

1754.—Herzl Levi, in Colmar innocently put to death.
1829.—Isaac Artom, Italian senator, b.
1852.—Zacharias Wertheim, physician and medical writer.
1871.—Samuel Wolf Schreiber, rabbi at Pressburg, son of Moses Sofer, d.
1888.—Samuel Raphael Hirsch, leader of neo-orthodoxy, Frankfort-on-M., d.
1894.—David Rosin, teacher at Breslau seminary, d.
1901.—B. Spiers, Dajan and Talmudic author, London, d.

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DIRECTIONS.

1. The Roman figures refer to the months, and the Arabic figures to the day. Where two dates are given, the first refers to the birth, and the second to the death of the person.

2. The Hebrew names are found under the first name, so Aaron ben Meir, under Aaron, Jacob ha-Levi, Jacob of Lissa under Jacob.

3. The spelling is in general that of the Jewish Encyclopedia, except that for the Hebrew "Chet" the "Ch" is used.

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Hebrew Union College Department

MINUTES OF THE ALUMNAL ASSOCIATION OF THE HEBREW UNION COLLEGE.

Detroit, Mich., July 2, 1903.

The annual meeting of the Alumnal Association of the Hebrew Union College was called to order at the rooms of the Fellowship Club on July 2, at 11:30 p. m., President Gries in the chair.

Reports of the various officers were read and approved, special recommendations being referred to the incoming Advisory Board.

DR. KOHLER'S INSTALLATION

It was moved and seconded that the Board of Governors be asked to permit some representative of this body to participate in the exercises incident to Dr. Kohler's installation. Amended to leave the matter to the Executive Board of the Alumnal Association. Amendment carried.

ALUMNAL PRIZE

It was moved and seconded that an Alumnal Prize be created, the details of which should be left to the Advisory Board in conjunction with such of the Alumni as are members of the College Faculty. Carried.

HISTORICAL RECORD

Upon motion the historian was ordered to prepare a detailed historical record of all members of the Association.

LIBRARY FACILITIES

Upon motion it was decided to ask the College authorities to make more adequate arrangements for the use of the College Library by the members of this Association.

H. U. C. JOURNAL

It was moved, seconded and carried that $50.00 be given to the Hebrew Union College Journal for the coming season, if it be decided to continue the publication thereof.

PERSONS IN ARREARS

Upon motion it was decided that hereafter persons in arrears to this Association for their dues for a period of three years, shall after due notice, be deprived of the privileges of active membership. The treasurer was instructed to send out bills to members semi-annually.

MIELZINER STIPEND

It was moved and seconded that an arrangement be made, whereby for a period of three years an annual stipend be paid to Mrs. Mielziner, Dr. Stolz to be custodian of the fund thus created. Carried.

MIELZINER RESOLUTIONS

Dr. Stolz submitted appropriate resolutions upon the death of Rev. Dr. Moses Mielziner, which were unanimously carried and ordered engrossed for the family.

DR. MIELZINER'S TOMBSTONE

Upon motion that this Association provide a tombstone for the late Dr. Mielziner, it was decided to refer the whole matter to the Executive Board, with power to take any action in the matter that may be consistent with the wishes of Dr. Mielziner's family.

PLEDGE OF LOYALTY

A pledge of loyalty on behalf of this organization and its members was voted to Dr. Kaufman Kohler, the newly elected President of the Hebrew Union College. A vote of thanks was also recorded for Dr. Krauskopf for his conscientious and efficient directorship of the Memorial Fund.

YEAR BOOK

Attention was called to the fact that no mention of this society is made in the Year Book of the Jewish Publication Society, and the incoming Secretary was ordered to prepare an appropriate article for publication.

ALUMNAL DINNER

It was moved and duly carried that hereafter an Annual Alumnal Dinner be arranged during the session of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, the members participating to bear the expenses thereof.

ALUMNAL BUTTON AND SONGS

The matter of obtaining designs for an Alumnal Button and of securing appropriate words and music for an Alumnal Song was referred to the Executive Board.

OFFICERS

A vote of thanks was tendered the retiring officers, and the following officers were then elected for the ensuing year:

President	Joseph Stolz.
Vice-President	E. N. Calisch.
Secretary	Abram Simon.
Treasurer	A. Hirschberg.
Historian	D. Lefkowitz.

No further business appearing the meeting adjourned.

Leo M. Franklin,
Acting Secretary.

Resolutions in Memory of Rabbi Moses Mielziner, Ph. D., D. D., submitted at the Annual Meeting of the Alumni of the Hebrew Union College, held at Detroit, July 1, 1903.

Since last we gathered at St. Louis Providence has summoned from our Alma Mater to the Academy on High the Acting President, our dearly-beloved teacher and friend,

Dr. Moses Mielziner,

whose memory we lovingly cherish as one of our most precious spiritual heritages, whose teachings have been to us a never-failing fountain of inspiration, whose life has served us as an illustrious exemplification of the ideal Rabbi in Israel.

Our indebtedness to him transcends our ability to express it; and though our grief is intense that he is no more with us in the flesh, we, his disciples, nevertheless, esteem it a privilege to bear grateful testimony of the many blessings he conferred upon us. With his lucid mind he unraveled for us the intricate dialectics of our sages, and simplified their peculiar hermeneutic

rules; with keenness of perception he gleaned for us the leading maxims of Talmudic law; with scholarly research he elucidated the laws of marriage and divorce; with pious reverence for rabbinical lore and a genuine sympathy with every phase of rabbinical learning, he disclosed its secrets to us with a beaming eye, and with warmth of enthusiasm revealed the beauties hidden in the soul-life of our fathers.

And he was not only our patient, painstaking and learned teacher; he was also to each one of us a dear personal friend and counselor; to each one, a classical example of modesty, piety, sincerity, sweetness of disposition, reverence for the past, loyalty to the present, consecration to the future.

He blessed us with his life and his lips; and now that he has been taken from us a double portion of the teacher's spirit blesses his devoted disciples. Therefore, be it

Resolved, That at this, our annual meeting, we convey to the bereaved family our heartfelt sympathy, and extend to them the assurance that the memory so dear to them is to us the priceless heirloom of our college life.

Piously, reverently and devotedly submitted by

Joseph Stolz,
Moses J. Gries,
Morris M. Feuerlicht,
Henry Englander,
David Lefkowitz.

Installation

of

Rev. Dr. Kaufmann Kohler

as President of the

Hebrew Union College

Sunday Afternoon, October Eighteenth, Nineteen Hundred and Three,

at half after Two O'clock.

Mound Street Temple.

Program

PRAYER . . . . . Rabbi Tobias Schanfarber

1. SEU'SHEORIM . . . . . Gounod
CHOIR

2. THE HEBREW UNION COLLEGE . . . . . Mr. Bernhard Bettmann
President Board of Governors.

3. INAUGURAL ADDRESS . . . . . Rev. Dr. Kaufmann Kohler
President H. U. C.

4. YEVORECHECHO . . . . . Goldstein
CHOIR

5. THE UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS,
. . . . . Mr. Samuel Woolner
President

6. THE COLLEGE AND ITS RELATION TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF JUDAISM IN AMERICA . . . . . Rev. Dr. Emil G. Hirsch

7. NINETY-FIFTH PSALM . . . . . Mendelssohn
CHOIR

8. THE HEBREW UNION COLLEGE ALUMNI ASSOCIATION,
. . . . . Rev. Dr. Joseph Stolz
President

9. THE FACULTY OF THE HEBREW UNION COLLEGE,
. . . . . Rev. Dr. Gotthard Deutsch

10. YIGDAL . . . . . Andrés
CHOIR

PRAYER AND BENEDICTION . . . . . Rabbi Frederick Cohn

Graduating Exercises

Class 1904

Hebrew Union College

Graduates

HARRY W. ETTELSON, B. A.
HARRY G. FRIEDMAN, B. A.
EPHRAIM FRISCH, B. A.
ALFRED T. GODSHAW, B. A.
SAMUEL H. GOLDENSON, B. A
JOSEPH JASIN, B. A.
LEONARD J. ROTHSTEIN, B. A.
MENDEL SILBER, B. A.
JOSEPH H. STOLZ, PH. B.
NATHAN STERN, PH. D.

Mound Street Temple
N. N. B. I.
Saturday, June 11, 1904, 2:30 P. M.

Program

1. MARCH—Seu'Sheorim . . . . . Gounod
   CHOIR
2. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS—
   MR. B. BETTMANN, President Board of Governors
3. OPENING PRAYER . . . . . REV. DR. JOSEPH STOLZ, Chicago, Ill.
4. PSALM 92 . . . . . Macfarlane
   CHOIR
5. LAUREATE ORATION—
   REV. DR. SAMUEL SALE, Congregation Shaare Emeth, St. Louis, Mo.
6. ETZ CHAYIM . . . . . Rossini
   CHOIR
7. CONFERRING DEGREE OF RABBI—
   REV. DR. KAUFMANN KOHLER, President Hebrew Union College.
8. YEVORECHECHO . . . . . Goldstein
   CHOIR
9. VALEDICTORY . . . . . RABBI HARRY W. ETTELSON
10. DECLARATION—
    MR. B. BETTMANN, President Board of Governors.
    MR. S. WOOLNER, President Union of American Hebrew Congregations.
11. ANTHEM—Final Chorus from "Gallia" . . . . . Gounod
    CHOIR
12. CLOSING PRAYER AND BENEDICTION . . RABBI EMANUEL KAHN, Ft. Smith, Ark.

POSTLUDE

Portraits

of the

Faculty

of the

Hebrew Union College

and of the

Graduates of 1904

with accompanying

Sketches

of the Latter

HEBREW UNION COLLEGE FACULTY.

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Jewish History and Literature.

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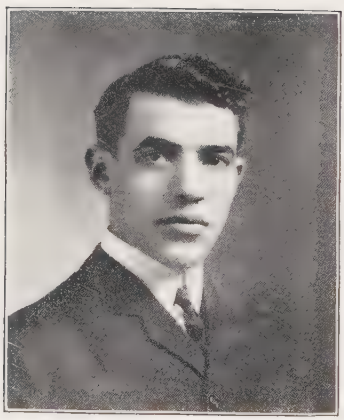

HARRY W. ETTELSON.

THE HEBREW UNION COLLEGE GRADUATES OF 1904.

HARRY W. ETTELSON, B. A., born Oct. 2, 1882, received his public school education at Mobile and Chicago. He entered Hughes High School and the Hebrew Union College in 1896. At Hughes he won a medal for general scholarship. He entered the University of Cincinnati in the fall of 1900 and graduated from that institution in Dec. 1903, having obtained there a Matthew Thoms and a McMicken scholarship. He was elected to the Phi Beta Kappa in his junior year—a special honor. During the summer of 1902 Mr. Ettleson studied at the University of Chicago.

Mr. Ettleson took his B. H. at the Hebrew Union College in 1900. He held the Rayner scholarship at the college and was the valedictorian of the class.

He officiated for the holidays at Mt. Vernon, Ind., Bloomington, Ill., and Marion, Ind., conducting monthly services during his Senior year at the latter place. Mr. Ettleson has been elected to succeed Rabbi Frederick Cohen at Ft. Wayne, Ind.

HARRY GEORGE FRIEDMAN, B. A., was born December 24, 1881, and received his primary education in the schools of Cincinnati. In 1896 he entered Hughes High School and the Hebrew Union College, graduating from the former and receiving his B. H. degree in the latter in 1900. In September, 1900, he entered the University, graduating from there in March, and from the Hebrew Union College in June, 1904. At the University of Cincinnati Mr. Friedman received two Matthew Thoms scholarships and a McMicken scholarship, and was elected to the Phi Beta Kappa. He also attained the highest general record ever held by a University of Cincinnati student. Besides these honors, he has won the Jacob Schiff prize for his essay on Kiddush Hashem at the Hebrew Union College and has received a scholarship in economics from Columbia University.

Mr. Friedman has officiated at Lafayette, La., Alexandria, Va., and Oklahoma City, Okl., and will officiate next fall at Lincoln, Neb.

During the coming year Mr. Friedman will devote himself to the study of economics and sociology at Columbia University, New York.

HARRY G. FRIEDMAN.

EPHRAIM FRISCH.

EPHRAIM FRISCH, B. A., born Oct. 1, 1879, received his early education in the public schools of Duluth and Minneapolis. He entered Hughes High School and the Hebrew Union College in 1896, taking his B. H. degree in the latter in 1900, and receiving two gold medals—one in Latin and one in oratory—in the former institution. In the fall of 1900 he entered the University of Cincinnati. There he won a Matthew Thoms scholarship and was elected to the Phi Beta Kappa. He graduated from the University in December, 1903. He has also studied at the Universities of Columbia (summer of 1902), and Minnesota (summer of 1903).

Mr. Frisch officiated during the holidays at Waterloo, Ia., Binghamton, N. Y., and Muncie, Ind. During his Senior year he conducted monthly services at Muncie. Mr. Frisch is Editor-in-chief of this year's H. U. C. Annual.

ALFRED T. GODSHAW, B. A., born May 3, 1878, came to Cincinnati from Louisville, where he received his primary and high school education, entering the Hebrew Union College in 1897. He received the degree of B. H. at the H. U. C. in 1900 and his B. A. from the University of Cincinnati in 1902.

During the holidays Mr. Godshaw officiated at Owensboro, Ky., Zanesville, O., Honesdale, Pa., and Lincoln, Neb. During his Senior year he conducted bi-weekly services at Mansfield, O. Mr. Godshaw was for several years director of the Ruth Cohen Sabbath School at the Jewish settlement.

ALFRED T. GODSHAW.

SAMUEL H. GOLDENSON.

SAMUEL HARRY GOLDENSON, B. A., born March 26, 1878, received his early education in the public schools of Rochester, N. Y. He entered the Hebrew Union College in 1897 and took his B. H. degree there in 1900, graduating that year also from Hughes High School. He entered the University in the fall of 1900, and graduated from that institution in March, 1904.

Mr. Goldenson was Chairman of the student body of the College during his Senior year. He has officiated at Camden, Ark., Gilett, Wis., and Philadelphia, Pa. During his senior year he conducted bi-weekly services at Lexington, Ky., where he has been elected permanent rabbi.

JOSEPH JASIN, B. A., was born July 18, 1881. He received his primary education in the public schools of Cincinnati, winning a prize in 1895 for receiving the highest average in his school. In 1896 he entered the Hebrew Union College and Woodward High School, and in 1900 he received his B. H. degree in the former institution and graduated from the latter. In September, 1900, he entered the University of Cincinnati, graduating from there with the degree of B. A., and from the College with the degree of Rabbi in June, 1904.

While an undergraduate Mr. Jasin officiated at Camden, Ark., in 1901, at Cincinnati, O., (John St. Temple) in 1902, and at Peru, Ind., in 1903.

JOSEPH JASIN

LEONARD J. ROTHSTEIN.

LEONARD J. ROTHSTEIN, B. A., was born October 1, 1880. His early education was obtained in the public schools of Cincinnati. He entered Hughes High School and the Hebrew Union College in 1896, and received his B. H. degree from the latter institution in 1900. In the fall of that year he entered the University of Cincinnati, where at the time of his graduation in June, 1904, he was elected to the Phi Beta Kappa. Mr. Rothstein officiated during the holidays at Jefferson City, Mo., in 1901, Anniston, Ala., in 1902, and at Binghamton, N. Y., in 1903. He has just been elected rabbi of Kalamazoo, Mich.

MENDEL SILBER, B. A., or Newark, born December 10, 1882, received his early education in various *Yeshiboth* of Lithuania and Poland. In 1895-6 he attended the *Hirsch-Realschule* of Frankfort, a. M., and from 1896 to 1900 the *Staedtisches Gymnasium* of the same city. Here he won a scholarship in 1897 and the annual prize in 1898.

In 1900 Mr. Silber came to Cincinnati, entering the Senior Class at Walnut Hills High School and the First Collegiate Grade at the Hebrew Union College. From 1902 to 1904 Mr. Silber has attended the University of Cincinnati, where he was graduated this June.

Mr. Silber has officiated for the last two years at the John St. Temple, in Cincinnati. He has been elected to the pulpit of Temple Emmanuel of Duluth, Minn., where he conducted services during the holidays of 1902.

MENDEL SILBER.

NATHAN STERN.

NATHAN STERN, B. A., M. A., Ph. D., born Feb. 12, 1878, received his early education in New York City. From 1891 to 1894 he attended Halsey's Collegiate School in that city and then entered Columbia College, where he received his B. A. in 1898, his M. A. in 1899, and his PH. D. in 1901.

During the year 1901-2 Dr. Stern studied at St. John's College, Cambridge, Eng. He then returned to America and studied for a year at the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York. In 1903 Dr. Stern entered the Hebrew Union College as a member of the Senior class with which he has just graduated.

During the holidays of 1903, Dr. Stern officiated at Williamsport, Pa. He was superintendent of the Religious School of the Hebrew congregation at Indianapolis for the year 1903-4.

JOSEPH STOLZ, PH. B., born June 12, 1877, received his entire secular education in Syracuse, N. Y. He graduated from the Syracuse High School in 1895, with honors in Civics; and from Syracuse University, June 1899, taking the degree of Ph. B. The subject of his thesis was, "The Relation of Edward Burke to the American Revolution."

Mr. Stolz came to Cincinnati and entered the Hebrew Union College in 1899, and received his B. H. degree in 1900. He conducted services during the holidays at Titusville, Pa., and Keokuk, Ia.

JOSEPH STOLZ.

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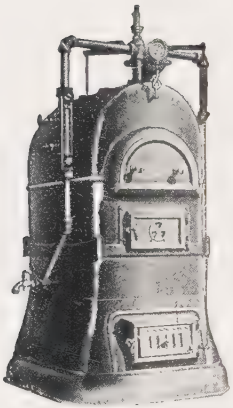

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